

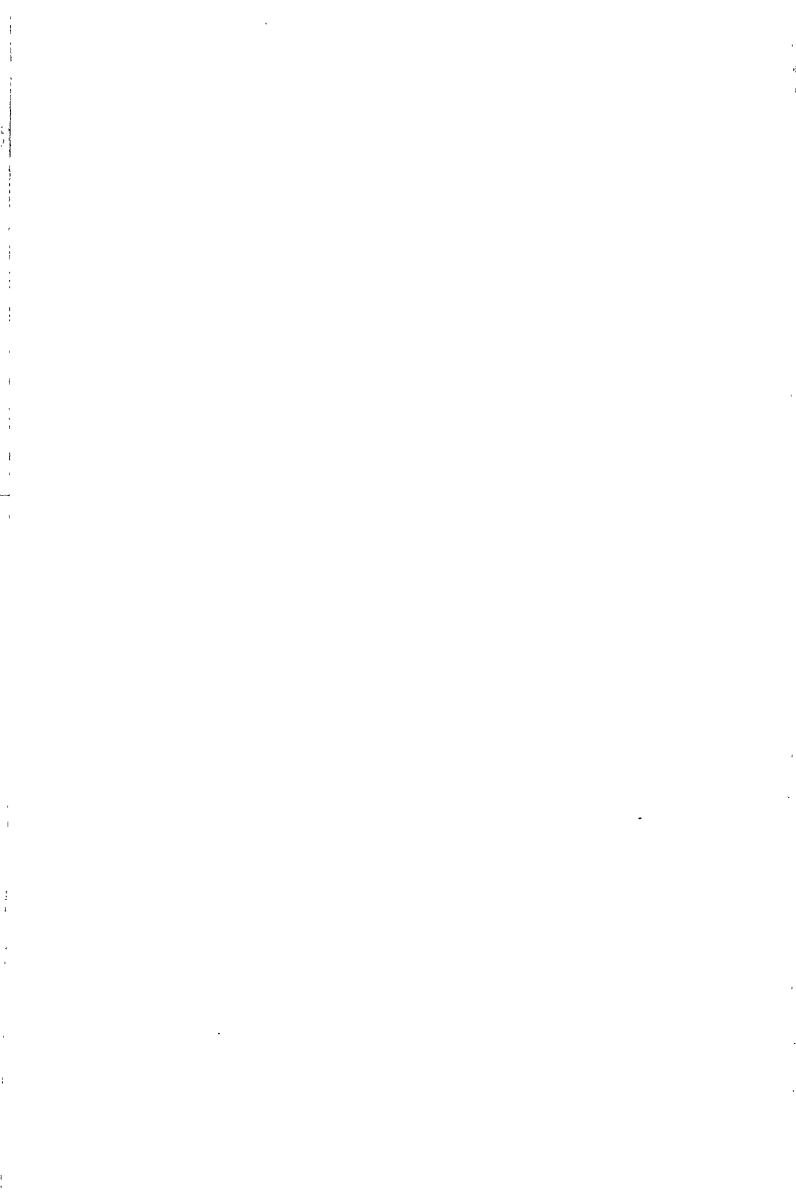
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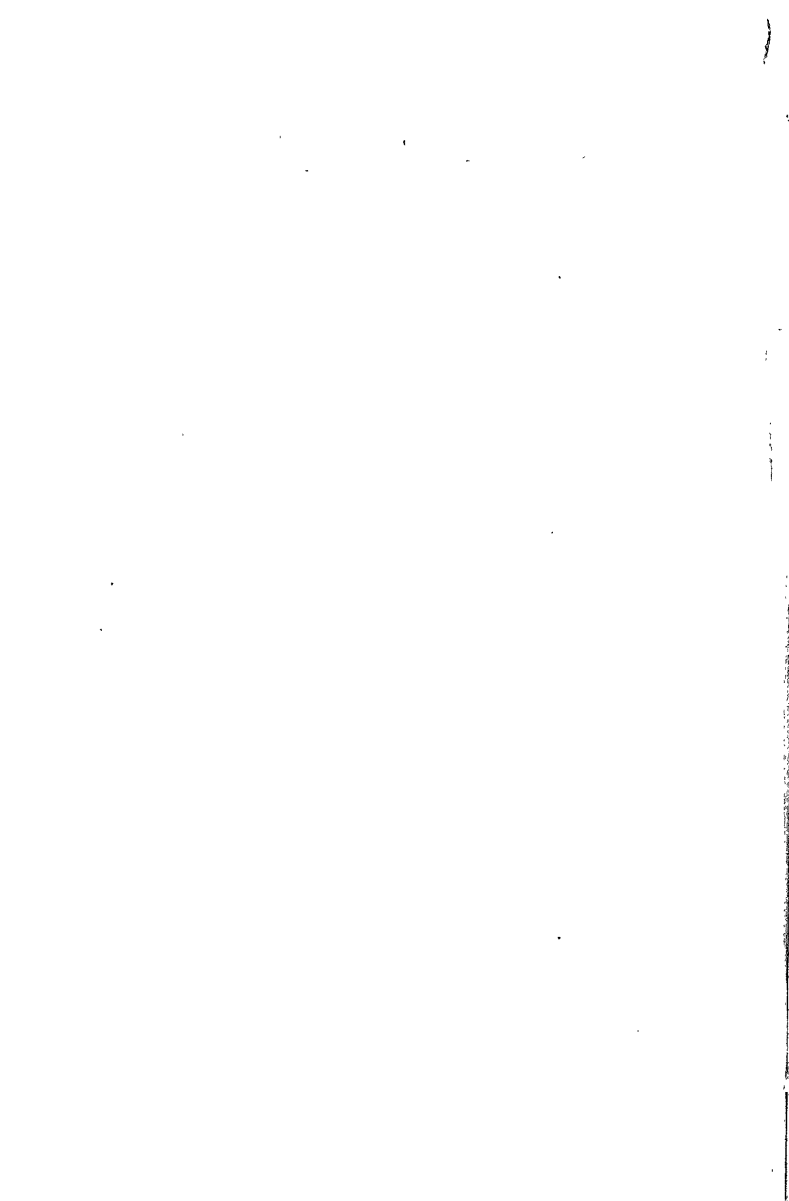
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THE LIFE OF MIR JUMLA
THE GENERAL OF AURANGZEB





THE LIFE OF MIR JUMLA

THE GENERAL OF AURANGZEB

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*DEDICATED TO
THE SACRED MEMORY OF
MY PARENTS*

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FOREWORD

(First Edition)

The author is to be congratulated on a first-rate contribution to Indo-Muslim History. By patient and deep research extending over seven years, he has produced a book which will stand as the authoritative life of Mir Jumla and a worthy supplement—in some points a corrective also to my voluminous *History of Aurangzeb*. It would, indeed, be wrong to consider this book as superfluous after that work of mine. The two books have, no doubt, a certain period in common, namely the years 1647-1663. But this *Mir Jumla* does not merely repeat the earlier *History of Aurangzeb*.

The present author has used the microscope where I had to apply the telescope ; and, in addition, he has dealt with many things not at all touched in my work on Aurangzeb. Hence, this book has an independent value of its own. To take a few illustrations, there is nothing in my *Aurangzeb*, except a dozen of pages, relating to the subject matter of the first eighty pages of this book. And I have said nothing whatever about Mir Jumla's administrative arrangements, commercial activities, and dealings with the European traders, to which the present biography has devoted many erudite and very informative pages. Again, Mir Jumla's campaign against Shuja in Bihar and Bengal is here painted on a wider canvas with much fuller amplitude of detail than I judged to be proper in my general history of Aurangzeb's entire reign.

Mahmud Gawan, Malik Ambar and Mir Jumla were the three noblest gifts of Persia to India (if I may be permitted to comprehend the entire Shia world in the term Persia). On the Indian stage these supermen found the fullest opportunity for displaying their extraordinary genius for war and diplomacy, civil government and business management. Of these "kings of men", the first two were happier than Mir Jumla in this that they were practically masters in their respective kingdoms, though nominally holding the office of ministers. Mir Jumla

never enjoyed such supreme power in the state, he was always a servant, subordinate to a higher authority. Moreover, his achievements were cast into the shade by the superior splendour and far wider range of the feats of Aurangzeb, his contemporary and co-worker in the same regions. The truly memorable achievements of Mir Jumla, so carefully elaborated in this volume, were compressed into seventeen years only, 1646-1662. But if a man's character is best judged by the force of the obstacles he has wrestled with and the manner in which he has faced unforeseen difficulties and misfortunes, then Mir Jumla stands out as the greatest among these three foreign immigrants in India.

Mir Jumla was also more fortunate than these two in the extent and value of the surviving historical records about him. His biographer has been able to draw upon the day to day accounts of the European merchants who had dealings with him, the detailed histories of his career in the Golkonda and Mughal services written by the Persian historiographers of the Deccan Sultans and the Delhi Emperors and many contemporary letters : and above all the long masterly diary of his Kuch and Assam expeditions written by Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Talish, a writer nowise inferior to Akbar's famous chronicler Abul Fazl. This factory records of the English and Dutch East India Companies give accurate dates and details about his movements and the economic development of the country, such as we do not find in the case of any other medieval Indian hero.

All this wealth of information has been utilised in the present biography. The author has mostly worked in my library, using Persian manuscripts not to be found elsewhere in India. In its critical and exhaustive synthesis of all the available materials, this life of Mir Jumla leaves nothing to be desired. I do not know any other research work in Mediaeval Indian History which shows even half the meticulous care of Dr. Jagadish Narain Sarkar in tracing every place-name, however obscure, with the help of district Gazetteers and the quarter-inch Survey of India maps.

Mir Jumla was one of the greatest characters of Mediaeval India, and now at last a biography trulyworthy of him has been produced.

6th June, 1951.

Jadunath Sarkar
D. Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S.

PREFACE

The first edition of 'The Life of Mir Jumla, the General of Aurangzeb', published in 1951, went out of print several years ago. I felt encouraged to think of having another edition, when several scholars enquired about the book. Indeed its second edition was long overdue. This book has now been thoroughly revised and enlarged.

Chapter I (Early life) has been doubled in text and foot-notes, giving a greater insight into the working of the State of Golkonda, necessary for understanding the rise of Mir Jumla. Chapter 2 (Section A Conquests in the Karnatak) has been re-written at places with additional materials derived from Telugu sources, now available in *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History* by K. A. N. Sastri and Venkataramanayya 3 vols. (1946), not utilised by me before and in the latter's article on the subject in *Yazdani Commemoration Volume*. Besides these, some new Persian sources, brought to light by Padmabhusan Professor H. K. Sherwani in *History of Qutbshahi Dynasty* and *History of Medieval Deccan* (ed), both published in 1974, have also been utilised. Chapters 4 (Mughal Wazir) and 5 (War of Succession) have both been enlarged by greater utilisation of existing sources. Chapter 6 (Governor of Bengal) makes use of some revenue statistics derived from the Br. Museum by Dr. Anjali Chatterjee in *Bengal during the Reign of Aurangzeb* (1967). Chapter 7 (Invasion of Kuch Bihar and Assam) has been re-cast at places in the light of Dr. S. K. Bhuyan's unearthing of fresh Assamese Chronicles and consequential studies especially *Atan Buragohain and His Times*, (1957). In Chapter 8 (Character and Achievement) a new section on Mir Jumla's place in History has been added.

In Appendix B my suggestion regarding the date of conquest of Gandikota (1650), based on European records and Persian chronicles, has now been corroborated by Telugu records. A new Appendix (on Jinji) has been inserted. That

on chronology of the General's retreat from Assam has been altered to cover his entire career. The Bibliography has naturally grown. It has been made more analytical than before. Three new maps have been inserted to illustrate the Mir's activities in the Deccan, during the War of Succession and in his Eastern campaigns. Notwithstanding best efforts, printing mistakes have unfortunately crept in, for which I crave the indulgence of the readers.

My thanks are due to Dr. Amalendu De, D. Litt., of Jadavpur University for the care he has shown in going through the revised work and offering his suggestions for improvement and to Sri Phanindra Nath Chakravarty, M.A., for preparing the Index and the Errata.

I have also to record my sincere thanks to Sri M. L. Gupta of Rajesh Publications, New Delhi, for getting the book printed quickly and nicely.

Jadavpur,
Calcutta-75.

Jagadish Narayan Sarkar

**Extracts from the Introduction
of First Edition**

* * *

The career of Mir Jumla in its different aspects was not studied before by any other scholar on a full scale with adequate utilisation of relevant evidence in varied documents. I have tried, in my own humble way, to prepare a biography of Mir Jumla after about seven year's patient study of the following classes of original sources:

- (i) Contemporary historical works in Persian, published or unpublished
- (ii) Contemporary correspondence in Persian
- (iii) The Ahom Buranjis
- (iv) European records, mainly English and Dutch
- (v) Works of Contemporary European writers and travellers
- (vi) Accounts in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit
- (vii) Archaeological, Epigraphic and Numismatic sources.

The thesis has been divided into eight chapters, subdivided into several sections and subsections. The early life of Mir Jumla has been dealt in Chapter I on the basis of Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Hadiqat us Salatin*, Tabrezi's *Golkonda Letters*, and other contemporary Persian works and European factory records besides the writings of foreign travellers on which mainly Sir J. N. Sarkar's account is based. This chapter is wholly original, containing new details as regards Mir Jumla's ancestry, date of birth, his reasons for leaving Persia the stages of his gradual rise to power in Golkonda and his influence in that State.

Chapter II, dealing with Mir Jumla's activities in the Karnatak, and subdivided into these sections, is also entirely original. The stages of the gradual conquest of the Western Karnatak by Bijapur are fairly well-known. But the story of the conquest of the Eastern Karnatak by the forces of

Golkoda under Mir Jumla awaited reconstruction from different classes of sources. The account of Colonel Mackenzie, published in JASB. 1844, is now out of date. Sir J. N. Sarkar's masterly account, given in his *History of Aurangzeb*, is necessarily very brief. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's articles are mainly based on European records. This task of reconstruction has been attempted by me for the first time, in Section A, after a synthetic use of contemporary Persian chronicles and letter books and European factory records and travellers' accounts. The details regarding the deputation of the Mir to the Karnatak, the conclusion of a contract between the two Sultans for its partition, the struggle over the possession of Jinji and the conquest of Gandikota are new. For the first time an attempt has been made here to examine the working of the partition scheme,—the causes of friction between the two Sultans, the growing strain and finally the war resulting in the defeat of the Qutbshahis under Mir Jumla. The ultimate allocation by Bijapur of Gandikota and Kokkanur to Mir Jumla was highly intriguing and sowed the seed of his rebellion against his master. The treatment of Mir Jumla's administration of the Karnatak (Section B), describing the territorial results of its conquest, his civil administration his internal overseas commerce, his military organisation, is original. So also is Section C, wherein his relations with the Europeans from his appointment as Governor of Masulipatam in 1635-36 till his absorption in Mughal imperial service in 1655 been traced.

Chapter III of the present work is an attempt to tell the story of Mir Jumla's entry into Mughal imperial service from a new angle and a fuller study of older sources and also on the basis of some new Persian sources not utilised by Sir J. N. Sarkar for the purpose. Fresh light has been here thrown on the causes of Mir Jumla's friction with Sultan Qutb Shah, on Mir Jumla's role in planning Aurangzeb's Golkonda campaign as well as on his diplomatic intrigues, especially with Persia and Sri Ranga Rayal. It was the Mir who induced the Rayal to seek Mughal protection in return for aposracy to Islam. Again, Mir Jumla's diplomatic relations with the celebrated

Maratha leader Shahji Bhonsla will be of interest to students of Maratha history. The arrest of Muhammad Amin was not primarily due to the latter's naughty behaviour as is generally believed, but to the leakage of Mir Jumla's intrigues with the Mughal Court

The activities of Mir Jumla as Mughal Wazir (Chapter IV) have been studied under five sections, of which the first two and the last one are obviously original. Section A portrays the Grand Wazir Mir Jumla as an agent of Aurangzeb in diplomacy and administration alike. Section B, dealing with the fate of Mir Jumla's Karnatak Dominions, is of interest not only to students of Mughal Court politics but also to those who wish to have an idea of the death-pangs of the kingdom of Chandragiri. Section E traces the changes effected in the relations with the Europeans by his appointment as Mughal Wazir.

The subject matter of the two other sections of Chapter IV (Section C—the Bijapur Campaign, 1657-58, and Section D—Mir Jumla Hurlled from Office) has been discussed in Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*. But the details here given regarding the diplomatic activities of Mir Jumla are wholly original. It has been shown here how the initiative in launching Aurangzeb's Bijapur campaign was taken by Mir Jumla, how he seduced Bijapuri officers and how he counteracted Dara's moves during the War of Succession, especially the order of recall of the Mir. It is indeed significant to know that Aurangzeb completely depended on Mir Jumla in these matters, and that he appointed the latter Governor of Khandesh for this purpose.

Chapter V delineates the role of Mir Jumla in Aurangzeb's war against Shuja on a different plan and in greater detail than what one gets in Sarkar's *Aurangzib*. The chapter has been divided into 6 sections, each bringing to light some original facts. Section A corrects the date of Mir Jumla's arrival at Kora, describes his part in minimising the adverse effects of Jaswant Singh's desertion of the imperial army at Khajwa, and throws new light on the causes of Aurangzeb's

victory. Section B contains new details regarding the movements of the imperial army in its march from Patna to Rajmahal. In Section C Mir Jumla's naval enterprises at Suti, his preparations for a fresh offensive after the failure of the frontal assault scheme of 3rd May, 1659, and his efforts for the establishment of Aurangzeb's authority in Orissa, are absolutely original. Again, it has been proved here that it was Mir Jumla and not Aurangzeb who was the originator of the plan of encircling Shuja. Fresh light is also thrown on the flight of Muhammad Sultan and Mir Jumla's able handling of the situation. In Section D, the discussion of Mir Jumla's activities in South-West Bengal especially the occupation of Hugli, and Daud Khan's advance from Patna towards Malda are completely new, while as regards the battle fought on a spot between Belghata and Giria, the version of 'Aqil Khan has been reconciled with the *'Alamgirnama* and the *Tarikh-i-Shah Shuja'i*. Section E gives new details as regards Mir Jumla's plans for protecting the western bank of the Ganges, his activities at Samdah, and the return of Muhammad Sultan to the imperial army. Mir Jumla's relations with the Europeans during the War of Succession form the theme of Section F.

Chapter VI, describing Mir Jumla's administration of Bengal, is original in all respects. The contents of Aurangzeb's *farman* appointing him Governor of the province have been given here for the first time.

Chapter VII, deals Mir Jumla's last and crowning military campaign—the invasion of Kuch Bihar and Assam. This subject has been dealt with by Messrs. Blochmann and Gait, Sir J.N. Sarkar and Dr. S.N. Bhattacharyya. But here it has been approached from the point of view of Mir Jumla, and the treatment has been more detailed and analytical than what the previous works contain. The old and known sources have been thoroughly examined and certain recently published Ahom Buranjis have been laid under contribution. This Chapter has been divided into 5 sections. Section A, dealing with the conquest of Kuch Bihar, throws new light on the genesis of Mir Jumla's eastern campaigns and his war prepara-

tions Section B describes Mir Jumla's triumphal march to Garhgaon. Subsection III of Section B, describing Mir Jumla's administrative and military arrangements in Kamrup and Assam is fully original, Section C gives full details of Mir Jumla's activities to overcome the difficulties in Assam caused by the rains, famine and pestilence. Section D deals with his resumption of offensive, the beginning of his fatal illness and the conclusion of peace. Section E deals with his retreat from Assam, and the administrative and military problems arising during it.

The concluding Chapter VIII is an attempt at forming a general estimate of Mir Jumla's character and achievement as a man, a statesman, a general, and a diplomat, and attributes Mir Jumla's failure to contribute any constructive force to history to his lack of high idealism.

The materials have been arranged in such a way as to clearly indicate the landmarks in Mir Jumla's career. For the sake of this analysis, each chapter or section has been further divided into subsections. Foot-notes have been consolidated, sometimes for one whole paragraph or a subsection. Several appendices deal with the more controversial points. The topic of Mir Jumla's relations with the European Companies has been studied chronologically under different phases of his career and not in a single chapter, for the sake of better understanding of his policy towards them in the light of his current problems and preoccupations. Quotations from European records have been given in their original form, sometimes with modern equivalents of unfamiliar words within brackets.

In the preparation of this work I have received generous assistance from some scholars, for which I am profoundly grateful to them. The pride of place must go to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C. I. E., D. Litt., who suggested the subject to me, lent most of the relevant manuscripts, besides books, maps and atlases from his valuable library, and guided me in writing this thesis with great zeal and love, Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon), lately Head of the History Department of Patna College and Dr. K.K. Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D., its present Head, have laid me under a deep debt of gratitude,

by going through the work and offering their valuable comments. Khan Sahib S. N. Askari of the same department lent me some manuscripts of his own and helped me with some useful suggestions. Rao Bahadur C.S. Srinivasachari, Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, lent me a translation of the *Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitram*. Dr. N. K. Sinha of Calcutta University assisted me in various ways. The authorities of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Oriental Public Library Patna, and the Library of the Bihar Research Society kindly permitted me to use some of their valuable collections.

ABBREVIATIONS

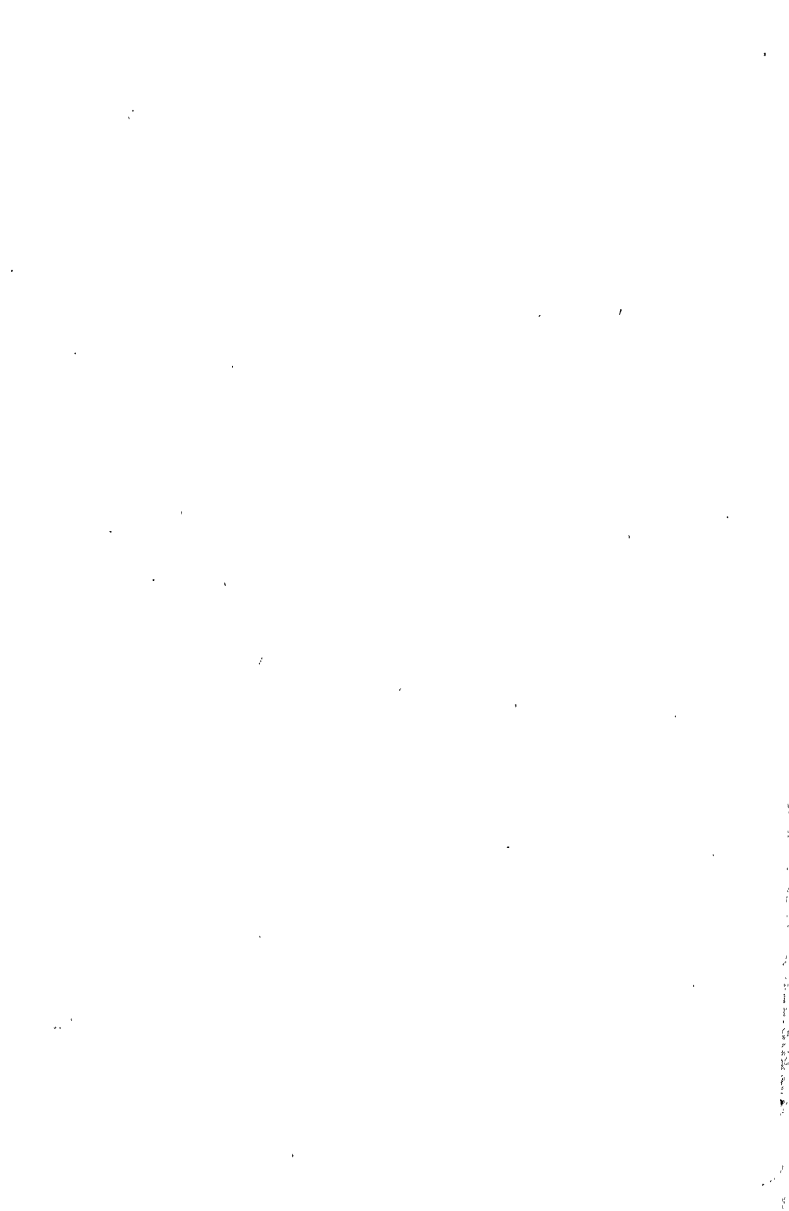
AA	—From Akbar to Aurangzeb by Moreland.
AB	—Assam Buranji (1648-81), ed. by S.K. Dutta.
<i>Adab</i>	—Adab-i-'Alamgiri.
ADM	—Akhbarat-i-Darbar-Mu'alla.
AN	—'Alamgirnama.
ARADND	—Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.
ARSIE	—Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.
AS	—'Amal-i-Salih.
ASB	—Asiatic Society of Bengal.
AEI	—Atlas of South India by Pharaah & Co.
ASR	—Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India.
<i>Atan</i>	—Atan Buragohain and his Times' by S.K. Bhuyan.
<i>Aurangzib</i>	—History of Aurangzib by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.
Ball	—Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, ed. by Ball.
BDR	—Batavia Dagb Register.
Bernier	—Travels in the Mughal Empire by Francois Bernier, ed. by Constable and Smith.
BI	—Bibliotheca Indica.
BKK	—Buranji from Khunlung and Khunlai.
BM	—British Museum.
B. MS. A	—Buranji Ms. A.
B. MS. B.	—Buranji Ms. B.
B. II b	—Buaanji Bk. II (b).
BVIII	—Buranji VIII.
Bowrey	—A Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal.
BPP	—Bengal : Past and Present.
Bruce	—Annals of E.I.C.
BS	—Basatin-us-Salatin (Litho Edn.).
CM	—Chingleput Manual.

- COM —Court Minutes of the E.I.C.
 Cont. —Continuation of Faththiya-i-'ibriyya. (Bod.Lib MS. 589).
 CR —Calcutta Review.
 Danvers —The Portuguese in India by F.C. Danvers.
 Dow —History of Hindustan by Dow.
 DUS —Dacca University Studies,
 EAEB —The Early Annals of the English in Bengal by C.R. Wilson.
 EC —Epigraphia Carnatica.
 E & D —History of India as told by its own historians ed. by Elliot and Dowson.
 EFI —The English Factories in India.
 The volumes are indicated as follows:—
 Volume 1634-36 V.
 Volume 1637-41 — VI.
 Volume 1642-45 — VII.
 Volume 1646-50 — VIII.
 Volume 1651-54 — IX.
 Volume 1655-60 — X.
 Volume 1661-64 — XI.
 Volume 1665-66 — XII.
 Volume 1668-69 — XIII.
 EIM —Epigraphia Indo-Moslemaica.
 FA —Fatuhāt-i 'Alamgiri.
 FFSG —The Founding of Fort St. George by Sir William Foster.
 FI —Faththiya-i-'ibriyya.
Further —Further Source of Vijayanagara History.
 Gait —A History of Assam.
 GD —Guldasta.
 Glanius —A Relation of Unfortunate Voyage to the Kingdom of Bengal.
 Gribble —A History of the Deccan by J.D.B. Gribble.
 HA —Hadiquat-ul-'Alam.
 Hall —Early English Intercourse with Burma.
 Hedges —The Diary of William Hedges.
 HG —History of Gingee and its Rulers by C. S. Srinivasachari.

- HISI —Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.
 HLR —History of the Late Rebellion by Bernier.
 HMD —History of Medieval Deccan Ed. H. K. Sherwani.
 HS —Hadiqat-us-Salatin.
 HSh —House of Shivaji.
 HT —Hague Transcripts.
 HTi —History of Tirupati, by Dr. S.K. Aiyangar.
 IA —Indian Antiquary.
 IG —Imperial Gazetteer.
 IHQ —Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Atlas —Indian Atlas.
 IOL —India Office Library.
 Irvine —Army of the Indian Mughals by W. Irvine.
 IsC —Islamic Culture.
 JAHRS —Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
 JARS —Journal of Assam Research Society.
 JASB —Journal of Asiatic Society Bengal.
 JBBRAS —Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 JBORS —Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
 JBRS —Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
 JHAS —Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeologica Society.
 JIH —Journal of Indian History.
 JMCM —A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar.
 JPU —Journal of the Patna University.
 JRAS —Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
 KB —Kamrupar Buranji.
Lachit —Lachit Barphukan and his Times by S. K. Bhuyan.
 Love —Vestiges of Old Madras by Love.
 MA —Maasir-i-'Alamgiri.
 Macleod —Macleod, De Oost.....
 MAF —Majma'ul Afkar.
 Majmu'a —Majmu'a-i-Makubat.

- MH —Muraqa'at-i-Hassan.
Mission —Mission du Madure.
 ML —Muntakhab-ul-Lubab.
 MM —Mukatabat-i-Muqima.
 MN —Muhammadnama.
 MNEFP —Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy by Dr. S. Bhat-
 tacharya.
 MR —Modern Review.
 MU —Marsir-ul-Umara.
 NAM —North Arcot Manual.
 ND —Nuskha-i-Dilkusha.
 NM —Nayaks of Madura.
 OPL —Oriental Public Library, Patna.
 OAILPB —A List of Objects of the Antiquarian Interest in
 the Lower Provinces of Bengal.
 PAB —Purani Asama Buranji.
 Patwardhan —Source Book of Maratha History, ed. by
 Patwardhan and Rawlinson.
 PB —Padshah Buranji.
Poem —Aurangnama.
 Pr. IHC —Proceedings, Indian History Congress.
 Pr. IHRC —Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Com-
 mission.
 Purchas —Purchas, His Pilgrimes.
 QN —Qutbnuma-i-Alam.
 QSD —Qutbshahi Dynasty by H. K. Shewani.
 RA —Ruqaat-i-'Alamgiri.
 Ramanayya —Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of
 Vijaynagara by N, Venkata Ramanayya.
 RBPE —Rise of the British Power in the East by M.
 Elphinstone.
 Rennell —Bengal Atlas by Rannell.
 Riyaz —Riyaz-us Saluation.
 RKG —Relations of the Kingdom of Golkonda by
 Moreland.
 RSAS —Ruqa'at-i-Shah-'Abbas-Sani.
 SAM —South Arcot Manual.
 SAR —Studies in Aurangzib's reign, by Sir J. N.
 Sarkar.

- SG —Shivaji the Great by Balkrishna.
 SHN —Shahjahannama by 'Inayet Khan.
 SMAB —Ahom Buranji found in the family of Sukumar Mahanta.
 Stewart A History of Bengal by Stewart.
Storia —Storia do Mogor, ed. by Irvine.
 SVH —Sources of Vijayanagar History by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar.
 Tabrezi —'Abdul 'Ali Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters.
 TG —Tinnevelly Gazette by Pate.
 Thevenot —Travel of Thevenot.
 TM —Tarikh-i-Mufazzali.
 TMu —Tarikh-i-Muhammadi.
 TS —Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai.
 TU —Tazkirat-ul-Umara.
 VSCV —Vijyanagara Sexcentenary Volume.
 Waris —Padshahnama by Waris.
 Wilks —Historical Sketches of the South of India, in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor by M. Wilks.
 YCV —Yazdani Commemoration Volume ed. by H. K. Sherwani.
 ZNA —Zafarnama-i-'Alamgiri.





CHAPTER I

Early Life of Mir Jumla : Persia to Golkonda

1. Mir Muhammad leaves Persia

From earliest times India has offered a favourable field for adventurers and fortune-seekers from different lands. Persians have come to India as settlers, saints and scholars, conquerors, administrators, soldiers, and adventurous founders of principalities during successive periods of Indian History from the 6th century B. C. to the 7th Century A. D. in the pre-Muslim ages, and more frequently later on when Persia became included in the general Islamic movements of peoples as a principal co-sharer. During the medieval period Persia was a major centre of civilisation in Asia, and she naturally sent many of her sons to India, who played conspicuous roles in Indian History. Such were Mahmud Gawan, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, Itimad-ud-Daula, Mirza Rustam Safavi, Mir Jumla and many others. In the Deccan, where there was community of faith and friendship between the Deccani Sultanates and Iran, Persians, often rose to the highest positions in the State. In Hindustan, however, Persians, while finding employment in the army and the civil government, could not hope easily to rise to the topmost rung of the ladder.¹ The career of Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla, who rose to be the *Wazir* or *Diwan-i-Kul* of the Mughal Empire

and was rewarded by the Emperor of Delhi with high titles is an exception to this rule.

Mir Muhammad Said Ardistani, known to history by his more famous surname Mir Jumla and entitled *Muazzam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Sipahsalar*, and *Yar-i-Wafahdar* was a Persian by birth. His parents belonged to an extremely indigent Sayyid family, settled, — as his name shows, — at Ardistan in Ispahan, a city for long the capital of Iran.² His father, Mirza Hazaru, was a poor oil-merchant of Ispahan in the vicinity of which he was born (at Ardistan) about 1591.³ In spite of the poverty of his parents, Mir Muhammad found an opportunity to acquire some knowledge of letters.⁴ Probably this helped him to secure the office of a clerk to a diamond merchant, who was frequently in touch with Golkonda. This early experience about diamond trade stood him in good stead in his subsequent career and proved to be the corner-stone of his future prosperity.

On reaching the age of discretion and manhood, Mir Muhammad Said, tormented by growing economic wants, due to a large extent to the financial exactions of a grabbing Shaikh-ul-Islam, and consequent lack of governance in Persia,⁵ left the land of his birth, like many other Persian Shiah, in search of fortune. As Mir Muhammad himself observed in one of his letters to Nawab Khalifa-i-Sultan, Wazir of Persia, that he had to leave his native country (i) 'to make our living easy', (ii) to send some help to near relations, and the aged and the infirm and members of the family (iii) to escape from the oppressions of the Persian Shaikh-ul-Islam. He added: "The story of the *Zulm* and the grabbing instinct of the Persian Shaikh-ul-Islam with regard to the property of orphans and the poor, became widely known. The Sunnis who come here (India) complain in Shah Jahan's Court and get the reply that 'such a creed deserves such a Shaikh-ul-Islam.'" Therefore, owing to these defects in administration, some foreign traders stopped the despatch of goods to Persia ; others, considering Hindustan a better and more peaceful place than Iran, recalled their goods, already despatched, as far as possible. When the judge who sits on the department of Canon Law is such, it is needless to dilate on the condition of the country and the extent of oppression in the time of the deceased Wazir. When in Hindustan such emphasis is.

put on religion and observance of the laws of *Shariat*, Iran, which is the fountain of religion and prosperity, and justice, has given up the cause of truth.⁶

Mir Muhammad joined the service of a Persian merchant, who was carrying some horses from Persia for sale to the King of Golkonda which, in those days, was a refuge and an EL Dorado for men of West Asia, and especially Persia.⁷ The exact date of his arrival in Golkonda is uncertain : but most probably it was earlier than 1630.⁸ We are also in the dark about the exact position of Mir Muhammad immediately after his arrival there. The evidence of the foreign travellers is conflicting. Whether he only continued as the personal attendant of the Persian merchant, in charge of the horses, already brought, as Bernier and Manucci both say, or whether he even went through the streets of Golkonda from door to door selling shoes, as Manucci further writes, there is no doubt that his arrival in Golkonda, where his propitious stars had led him, proved to be a turning point in his career.

2. Mir Muhammad enters Golkonda service

Mir Muhammad became the darling of fortune. Although his lineage was not high, his talents were of a very high order, and he was wise and much experienced in business. As wealth is the source of material power and independence, he set himself assiduously to the task of amassing it. He soon established himself at Golkonda as an apprentice to a diamond merchant. Subsequently he gave up this service and traded on his own account. He farmed some diamond mines under feigned names, and ran them with indefatigable industry. His diamonds were usually counted in sacks.

Extensive commerce with various part of the world was another source of his prosperity. Engaged in commercial ventures, especially maritime, he gradually rose to be 'a great merchant of much fame in the kingdom' owning numerous ships.

Anxious to rise in life, Mir Muhammad endeavoured to 'purchase a place' at the court of Qutb Shah and utilised his fortune, amassed through mining and commerce, to realise his

political ambition. By wise and well-placed generosity, he gained for himself many friends in the royal court who looked after his interests there.⁹ But it is clear from English factory records that till 1634 he did not rise to importance in Golkonda¹⁰, and even in 1645/1635-6 we find him as only an ordinary *Sillahdar* holding the office of *Sar-i-daftar-Shahi* (Keeper of Royal Records). His eventual appointment in comparatively higher service in Golkonda State was due to the kind patronage of Nawab Allami Fahmi Shaikh Muhammad-ibn Khatun, entitled 'Mir Jumla' then, holding the exalted office of the Peshwa in the State. The Peshwa had not only to conduct diplomatic relations, deal with matters brought by foreign ambassadors, but also to discharge various administrative duties,—to try cases, brought by the subjects, to improve the condition of the people and develop cultivation.

Nawab Allami was an able officer and did his utmost to evolve order out of the chaos then reigning in the internal administration and army of the kingdom. His career in Golkonda shows that in that atmosphere of inefficiency, nepotism and corruption, a really able person was sure to gain the confidence of the Sultan and be invested with unlimited power, but that at the same time his very eminence was bound to lead the jealous and disaffected elements in the Court to make allegations against him to the too credulous Sultan in order to undermine his influence. This is well illustrated in the career of Mir Muhammad too.¹¹

The internal administration of the kingdom, civil and military, was not well conducted then. Abdullah Qutb Shah had, on his accession in 1626, endeavoured to place it on a proper basis. He had intended to appoint a wise and enterprising Peshwa and an Asaf like Mir Jumla, so that the laws of the kingdom might be regularised and the rules regarding the subjects and soldiers be harmoniously adjusted. These two officers were expected to remain in the capital and they formed 'two pillars of the kingdom'. Since the death of Nawab Allami Fahmi Mir Muhammad Mumin Peshwa in 1624, towards the close of the reign of the late Sultan, the office of the Peshwa had remained unfilled, its duties being generally discharged by the Sultan himself. On the accession of the twelve-year old

Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, his mother Hayat Bakhshi Begum appointed her son-in-law, Shah Muhammad, Peshwa. But as he was inefficient, incapable of dealing effectively with matters brought by the ambassadors of Shahjahan, Adil Shah and Nizam Shah, and committed some treacherous actions including shady financial matters, the Sultan had dismissed him and invested the able and efficient Naib Peshwa Shaikh Muhammad surnamed ibn-i-Khatun with the duties of the *Peshwa-i-Kul* (Ramzan 9, 1038/April 22, 1629).¹² Again, the Sultan had elevated Mansur Khan Habshi Ain-ul-Mulk, *havaladar* of royal bodyguard or escort (*Lashkar-i-rikab*), to the high office of 'Mir Jumla'.¹³ He was more attentive to military affairs than civil duties. As he was not proficient in drafting and administration he had necessarily to depend on the Brahman subordinates for help in discharging his duties and they came to wield the reins of power. He was not sincere or faithful with the poor (peasants), constituting the foundation of the kingdom, and did not look to their interests. The administration (especially the military department) became marked with nepotism. Influenced by the instigations of evil-minded persons, he dismissed some of the old and experienced domestics with good record of service and appointed his favourites, though he also confirmed some old officers. The influence which Mansur came to possess over the Sultan made him look down upon and ill-treat other officers.¹⁴

On the death of Mansur Khan in 1038/c. Oct. 1628, the post of Mir Jumla seemed to have been kept in abeyance, the *Sar-i-Khail* discharging the former's duties till 1634. For a few months in 1631, Shaikh Muhammed Peshwa officiated as Diwan. But his enemies made allegations behind his back, which, on enquiry, proved to be false. The Sultan thereupon wanted to re-appoint him Peshwa, but on his refusal to accept that office, the Sultan offered him the post of Mir Jumla (*Jumlatul Mulki*) as the affairs of the kingdom were virtually managed according to his advice. After many royal inducements, Shaikh Muhammad accepted the post of Mir Jumla on Shawwal 9, 1043/29 March, 1634, with his nephew, Shaikh Muhammad Tahir (appointed *Sar-i-Khail* in place of Mir Fasihuddin) as his assistant. The reins of administration of the kingdom

were now handed over to him. Suitable arrangements for civil and military affairs were made and detailed regulations were issued in every department. On the whole he was an able officer.

As Nawab Allami Shaikh Muhammad performed, besides his own duties as Mir Jumla (*Jumlat-ul-Mulki*), the herculean task of the office of the Peshwa, including the most important function of conducting diplomatic relations, the Sultan invested this able officer with the dress (a special *khilat*) of the Peshwa, in addition to the office of Mir Jumla, presented him two Iraqi horses and permitted him to come to the royal presence in the *palki* (palanquin) (17 Rajab, 1045/17 Dec. 1635). All persons were ordered to refer their cases to him for disposal.

The increasing confidence of the Sultan seemed to have infused fresh vigour and zeal in him and Nizamuddin Ahmad writes that he now began to render better services in improving the condition of the people, developing cultivation and discharging administrative duties.¹⁵

Having virtually the sole power to dispose of all governmental affairs, Nawab Allami Fahmi was instrumental in appointing many able persons to the State service, elevating many *sillahdars* to the *Majlis* (Council) and placing some others in charge of *Mahals* as their *amils* and *hakims*, in recognition of their merit. Mir Muhammad, holding the office of the *Sar-i-daftar Shahi* (or Keeper of Royal Records), was one of these favoured *Sillahdars* and in 1045/ 1635-6 he was placed in charge of the port of Masulipatam as its *havaladar*.¹⁶ This was the most significant of such appointments from the point of view of the history of India.

Masulipatam was then the 'principal port' of the Golkonda Kingdom. It was 'well-peopled' and reputed for 'great trading' in calicoes and *Chintz*, because besides those manufactured there many were brought from St. Thomas which were 'much finer and of better colours than those of the other part of the Indies'. Indeed it was the centre of the East Coast cotton manufactures, which commanded a large market in Bantam and the Far East, and had commercial intercourse with Surat, Bandar Abbas (Gombroon), and other western settlements as well as the ports on the Eastern Coast and Pegu. Nizamuddin Ahmad wrote of it that from there 'ships proceeded to the

countries of *zerbad* (down country) and *balabad* (up country) and the ports of 'Arab and 'Azam. Throughout the year ships used to come to and go from there in all directions. That was the special feature of this port.' This is corroborated by Thevenot who observes : "The coast is excellent, and so ships come thither from all nations, and go from thence to all countries. I saw there Cochin Chinese, men of Siam, Pegu and of many other kingdoms of the East."¹⁷

For several years past, however, the affairs of this jewel of a part were not properly administered. True, it had its *havaladar* or governor, while the head of the district (i. e. Mustafanagar) was known as *Sar Simt*, and the port officer was known as *Shahbunder*.¹⁸ But corruption was rife, and heavy exactions were levied on the merchants by the Governor for purely personal and selfish reasons without an eye to the economic interests of the kingdom. From English factory records it appears that the administration of Masulipatam by two *havalgars* (governors) Mulla Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi (c. 1037/1627-8) and his successor, Mir Fasihuddin Muhammad Taqrishi (c. 1628)¹⁹ proved highly vexatious to the English factors on account of their insolent attitude. In a letter to 'Mirpass' (Mir Fasihuddin), they complained that their troubles and difficulties were all due to his predecessor, 'Mamatucke' (Muhammad Taqi) and that they were continued by him 'without hope of reformation'. Hence they decided to move from Masulipatam to Armagon (within the jurisdiction of the Nayak of Chandragiri).²⁰

A few years latter (1630-2), the district round Masulipatam was under Mirza Rozbihani Ispahani. In English factory records 'Meirza Rosbahan' is spoken of as the 'Great Governor', who refused the English permission to embark cloth at Petapoli unless they paid customs there for the whole, besides the 'port Sise (Cess) of Masalpatam' i.e. harbour dues or charges. The factors subsequently (November 22, 1630) treated with the governor of Masulipatam at Panrequa (?), offering to give him 'suitable recompense' and promising to give Mirza Rozbihan two pieces of broad-cloth. Possibly he was the *havaladar* of the area round Masulipatam and in the Batavia Dag Register he is mentioned as the Governor of Masulipatam. From a Masulipatam

letter of August 29, 1632, we come to know that he was the *rendedare* or farmer of the place and also the Chancellor of the kingdom of Golkonda (*Sar-i-Khail*).²¹

Nevertheless, Masulipatam was so important a port, that the English E. I. C's factors, had, after a temporary withdrawal (1628-30), to return to it in 1630, and to secure favourable commercial privileges from the Sultan of Golkonda by the Golden Farman of February 26, 1634. But it appears from English Factory records that the Governor and other officers at Masulipatam viewed these commercial concessions of the English with grave concern, as they involved the state in great loss of customs revenues, and endeavoured, together with the Dutch, to report the violation of the *Farman* to the Sultan, with the result that the *Sar-i-Khail* (Abdullah Khan Mazandarani) and the *Dabir* (Mulla Wais, *Munshi-ul-Mamalik*) demanded from Rogers, the English factor in Golkonda, an amount in excess of the stipulated yearly abatement.²²

Mir Muhammad must have played an important part in bringing the affairs of the port well under control and in endeavouring to replenish the coffers of the state. Nizamuddin Ahmad writes that the record of service of Mir Muhammad as the *havaladar* of Masulipatam was excellent. His qualities, indeed, befitted him for a higher position. After about a year (c. 1637) he was also appointed *havaladar* of the *Mahal* of Mustafanagar (Condapilly) a big fort of Telingana. He made commendable efforts to manage its administration properly and to develop its resources.²³ His speeches and actions were to the liking of all officers in the capital. He began to bask in the sunshine of the Sultan's favours and to ascend the ladder of fortune stage by stage. The *havaldari* of Masulipatam and Mustafanagar became a stepping-stone to the office of the *Sar-i-Khail*.

The term *Sar-i-Khail* literally means 'head of the horse' or group leader but in practice the incumbent of the office had to discharge, besides military duties, civil and revenue functions, like Mir Jumla, with considerable jurisdiction over the state. The office was thus a highly important one, inasmuch as the well-being of the kingdom depended on the ability of its holder. Under a weak and incompetent one, the officers of the *mahals* and the Brahmans were likely to go out of control, peculation

and embezzlement would increase and collections of revenue would fall. As the chief revenue officer, he exercised some control over the commerce of the east coast. On the death of Mir Jumla Mansur Khan Habshi in 1038/1628, Mullah Muhammed Taqi Taqrishi, the wise and able officiating *diwan*, was selected out of many candidates and appointed *Sar-i-Khail* in effect *Mir Jumla*, on Safar 23, 1038/Oct., 12, 1628. He paid such a great attention to the affairs of the *diwani* that the officers of the *mahals* and the Brahmans lost their former importance; peculations and embezzlements were stopped and the collections of revenue increased. 130,000 *huns* were collected from Narayan Rao (*majmuadar*) and deposited in the treasury. Several mischievous *Chaudhuris* were killed and their goods were confiscated. The Sultan rewarded Md. Taqi for these meritorious services with the title *Shariful Mulk* and a present of gold-embroidered pen case, which had not been given to any one after Mirza Muhammad Amin Mir Jumla.²⁴

These details show that the posts of *Sar-i-Khail* and *Mir Jumla* were now held by one and the same person (Md. Taqi); the term *diwani* including the revenue duties of both these officers.

Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi, *Sharif-ul-mulk*, *Sar-i-Khail* and *Sardar* died on Shawwal 19, 1040/May 11, 1631, after an excellent record of service for 2 years and 7 months. For about six years since then, temporary arrangements were made but these never worked well. At first Nawab Allami Fahmi Shaikh Md. ibn Khatun acted as *diwan* (evidently in addition to his duties as Peshwa), pending the appointment of a permanent Mir Jumla. But he had his duties (of *diwani*) performed by Mir Qasim Nazir-ul-mulk and Mir Muizzuddin Muhammad Musharrif and Narayan Rao *Majmuadar* and other officials, who arranged the articles in the royal kitchen, elephant stables and horse-stables respectively. However, owing to high prices of crops and increasing expenditure, the management of the affairs of the *diwani* became extremely difficult. Many activities were suspended and complaints began to pour in from many *mahals*. Evidently these temporary arrangements never worked satisfactorily and so Mirza Ahmad Astarabadi was appointed the *Sar-i-Khail* (24 Zilhijja, 1040 / July 14, 1631). An honest and sincere officer,

he was greatly handicapped by his deficiency in knowledge of accounts and administration. The Brahmans naturally took advantage of it and due to their machinations he could not manage things well. Complaints from houses *bautat* and *mahals* became so loud that the Sultan himself had to look after the affairs of the *Karkhanas*. Acting on the suggestion of Nawab Allami, the Sultan appointed Mirza Rozbihani Ispahani on 3 Rabiussani 1041/October 19, 1631, but as his services were not appreciated by the Sultan, he was ultimately dismissed, in spite of his faultless conduct, on Safar 13, 1042/August 20, 1632. His successor, Mir Fashiuddin Muhammad Taqrishi, danced attendance on the Sultan and became his favourite and was presented a gold-embroidered pen-case. But he was dismissed when Nawab Allami was appointed Mir Jumla on Shawwal 9, 1043/29 March, 1634 with his nephew, Shaikh Md. Tahir (appointed *Sar-i-Khail*) as his assistant. When Nawab Allami was invested with the *Khilat* of Peshwaship in addition to his duties of Mir Jumla (17 Rajab, 1045/17 Dec., 1635) the post of *Sar-i-Khail* remained unfilled for 3 months. Abdullah Khan Mazandarani, *Sar-i-lashkar* of Kasimkot and Kalang, was appointed *Sar-i-Khail* on 19 Shawwal, 1045/17 March, 1636, on the advice of Nawab Allami. Thus all temporary arrangements since 1631 never worked well. *Sar-i-Khail* after *Sar-i-Khail* was changed till the Sultan's choice fell on Mir Muhammad.

In obedience to a royal *farman* (beginning of Muharram, 1047) summoning him to court, Mir Muhammad arrived at the capital on Safar 7/June 21, 1637 with presents probably including several well-bred elephants and various European and Chinese fabrics. The Sultan received him well and discerning 'the signs of wisdom and ability in him', appointed him *Sar-i-Khail*, in succession to Sayyid Abdullah Khan Mazandarani (night of Safar 9/23 June, 1637). Mir Muhammad assumed charge of his new duties, leaving the administration of his old *mahals* in the hands of his *Wakils*.²⁵

3. Mir Muhammad as the Wazir of Golkonda

Applying the epithets *Asaf jahi* (wise as Asaf), *Asaf manzilat* and *Asaf martabat*, Nizamuddin Ahmad observed: 'The

affairs of the Sultanat and the duties in respect of religion and royal prosperity were all discharged (by him) with great wisdom and care, and he was ascending the stages of nearer approach to the Sultan. By virtue of his fortune and wisdom, he soon came to possess (in fact) supreme authority (*istaklal*) in the task of administration (*amr hakumat*). He put a stop to the road of illicit profit and oppression on the part of *Arbab-i-dakhil* (profiteers or collectors). He realised a huge sum from the subordinates (*ummal*) and Brahmans and deposited it in the treasury.' The Sultan rewarded him with a bejewelled pen case (*Kalamdan-i-murassa*) and granted him one pargana yielding 30,000 *huns* a year, so that he might keep at his beck and call strong, young Arab retainers. About 100 able, brave and competent Iraqi and Khurasani retainers were employed as the Sultan's *Sillahdars*. On his having satisfactorily discharged certain duties on behalf of the Queen-mother, he received handsome presents, including a belt, ornamented sword (*shamshir-i-murassa*) and horses and elephants.²⁶

Next, Mir Muhammad Said earned a great reputation for having completed within the brief space of a year (by Rabiul-awwal, 1048, July, 1638) the construction of the four-storied Palace Hayat Mahal, as desired by the Sultan's mother, for the use of the ladies of the seraglio, as none of the existing buildings were pleasing to her. A site was selected and the plan, drawn up by Malik Almas,²⁷ *havaladar* of masons, was slightly modified by the Sultan's orders for the construction of four lofty towers with windows on four sides of the fourth story. With his characteristic thoroughness of detail, Mir Muhammad set himself to the task and summoning many geometricians and expert artisans of the state, remained engrossed in this work 'morning and evening and always.' In between the four lofty towers on the topmost story (with portico, terrace, and seats) was built a summer-room together with a beautiful *Ghusalkhana*, all decorated in compliance with the Sultan's order by the expert designers of Iraq and Hindustan with paintings of scenes depicting the court, hunting and war in different colours on the walls of the room. It became so beautifully designed as to be compared by Nizamuddin with the Eram or 'Eden'.²⁸

Soon afterwards, towards the end of Rabiulawwal (1 August,

1638), Mir Muhammad displayed his remarkable powers of organisation, even down to the minutest of details, in honour of the visit of the Sultan accompanied by all wazirs, amirs, and officers to the newly constructed palace, in conformity with the desires of the Queen-mother and amidst scenes of great pomp and splendour. He became absorbed in completing all arrangements for the due celebration of the ceremony. The lawn (in front of the building) was cleaned 'like a mirror'. The *sarnaubats* arrived there for display of their forces. Mir Muhammad, assisted by special agents of the Queen-mother, had velvet carpets and gold brocade spread over the entire way, 1,000 yards long, intervening between the first *darband* (gateway) and the palace, there being altogether eight lofty gateways. Provision was made for distribution of victuals in charity. The stationing of elephants, horses and camels, and of domestics and the *ohudadars* and *maliks* of 12 harems with handsome trays of gold and jewels and cloths added grandeur to the whole show. Amidst such display, the Sultan got down from his horse, and passing through every gateway, ascended a hundred steps, covered with gold brocade, seated himself on the topmost story and received handsome *peshkash* from the high officers, who welcomed him from their respective seats. The Queen-mother presented a large elephant with gold chain and trappings, 2 Arabi horses, with costly jewelled trappings and other fine cloths, gold brocades of Iraq and velvets of Europe etc., and 14 pieces of fine cloths, which had been sewn with golden threads and wrappers, whose margin had been finely embroidered in silk and with precious and valuable presents.

Possessing immense wealth, Mir Muhammad Said presented to the Sultan one gold bedstead together with its accessories, using up in all about 12 mds. of gold besides gold wire, utensils, fine cloths, and other choicest presents. In recognition of all these recent services, the Queen-mother honoured him with special presents, including a horse with gold trappings, one elephant and a belt with a jewelled sword.²⁹

Certain other favourable circumstances brightened the prospects of Mir Muhammad. Opposition and intrigues

of his enemies proved to be a blessing in disguise for him. His wisdom and ability had excited the jealousy of Mulla Wais, *dabir* and *munshi-ul-mamalik*. Emboldened by the Sultan's favours, the latter had overstepped the bounds of propriety and of his own jurisdiction, and had already begun to interfere in the affairs of the *Sur-i-Khail* and even of the Peshwa and also looked down upon all other *mansabdars* as his subordinates. While disapproving of this intervention, the surprised Sultan did not explicitly warn him off for several reasons. Mir Muhammad, the acting *Sar-i-Khail* and a favourite of the Sultan, and discharging the civil and revenue 'duties of the diwani' very well, naturally resented Mulla Wais's intervention and made 'allegations of disloyalty' against the latter. Unable to brook the consequent curtailment of his own influence, Mulla Wais sent an application for leave, which highly incensed the Sultan. Finally, in Rabiulawwal (July 1638) Mulla Wais was dismissed from service and kept confined to his own house, while the post of Wizarat was held in abeyance. Mir Muhammad was now ordered to look after his retainers, and pay them out of the proceeds of the former's jagirs which he was to collect. The office of the *dabir*, held by Mulla Wais, was conferred on Mirza Taqi Nishapuri, on 26 Shawwal (20 February, 1639). The vacant wizarat of Wais Khan, was later on filled by Mirza Rustam, who was summoned from Qasimkota. The retinue of the dismissed Mulla which had been kept in the custody of the force of Malik Ambar was now entrusted to Mir Muhammad, described as the 'Asaf of the modern age'.³⁰

Soon Mir Muhammad added new feathers to his cap. For having skilfully organised a fine parade of his Iraqi soldiers with accoutred elephants and horses in the *maidan* of *Dadmahal*, he was granted a fine robe of honour and for him 'with the high post of *Sar-i-Khail* was combined the dignified office of the wizarat.' It was settled that every wazir, present in the capital, must, once a week, keep watch in the night and the next morning, in the open space of *Nadi Mahal*, which was on the other side of the river (*rud khana*), must make a review of soldiers, and accoutred elephants and horses, before the Sultan in the *maidan* of *Dadmahal*. As there were 12 wazirs or ministers in the capital one to three wazirs together would keep

watch in the week, and every day the army would accordingly make their parade.³¹

4. Qutb Shah's journey to Masulipatam

The good opinion of the Sultan about Mir Muhammad was further confirmed by the latter's performance of extremely useful services and display of his organising skill during the Sultan's tour from the capital to Masulipatam (*bandar-i-mu-barak*) on the sea coast (29 October-27 December, 1639).³² Desirous of going to the sea coast, the Sultan ordered *Janab Asaf-auran* Mir Muhammad to collect and arrange for the goods of the *karkhanas* and all the requisites of the journey and to settle the consequential administrative problems. Roads had to be repaired, forests cleared and the different halts or stages, 14 in all, had to be arranged. Accordingly he set himself to this task and provided all conveniences and managed all affairs, big and small, for the *mahals* and *bautat* (houses). The Sultan ordered that the *Sar-i-Khail* should send directions to the officers of the *mahals* on the highway to Masulipatam for keeping the articles of food and fodder ready and endeavouring to stock these to a maximum. Riding on a golden throne (*Singhasan*), the Sultan was accompanied by his mother, the ladies, the Peshwa and several ministers, councillors and nobles, the foreign ambassadors (*Hajibs*) including those of Iran and Hindustan, as also the different branches of the army, infantry, cavalry, artillery and elephants. Mir Muhammad was despatched with a *farman* to fetch back Imam Quli Beg, *Hajib* of Iran, who had already left the capital. It was, indeed, a grand and glamorous cavalcade of the entire capital, with a double objective, to inspire awe among the recalcitrant *Zamin-dars* of the coast as well as to impress the European factors with a show of magnificence and might of the state.³³

When every arrangement was completed by Mir Muhammad, the Sultan set out on Tuesday, Rajab 12 (29 October 1639), selected by astrologers (of Iran) as auspicious. The historian, Nizamuddin Ahmad Shirazi, an eye-witness, pays a high testimony to the organising skill of Mir Muhammad by observing that at Hayatabad (Hayatnagar, November 1-9), every one

of the vast concourse of soldiers and people (about 5000) had his wants satisfied through *Asaffahi's* endeavours. Sayyid Mir Rustam, the *havaladar* of the *qasba* of Moonagalalah (15 November) supplied provisions to Nawab Allami, Mir Muhammad and Hakimul Mulk. On the 16th November, the Sultan proceeded from there to the mountain fort of Anantgiri and reached its top along with Mir Muhammad Said, Hakim-ul-mulk and others.³⁴

At Mustafanagar (Condapilly, 19 November), then within his own jurisdiction, Mir Muhammad's services were highly commendable. Next day he had to climb to the citadel perched on the rock, to inspect and cleanse the big royal palaces, while Nawab Allami and Hakim-ul-mulk were ordered to find out whether it was fit for the Sultan's ascent. Mir Muhammad made lavish preparations for the royal reception. He got down in the evening and on the 21st the Sultan ascended the hill, together with the ladies and made a circuit round the fort along with the high grandees and intimate courtiers (*makarrban-i-azam*). For reasons of safety, the Sultan ordered that several thousand excellent *bandugchis*, *naikwars* and *kotwals* should be kept ready; that the heaps of food articles be prepared; that the *topkhana* be rebuilt; and that during the night a *fauj* of the *khassa-i-khail*, bondmen and *naikwars* should keep watch along with musketeers, over jungly places, infested with carnivorous animals. The amirs, accompanying the Sultan, also kept guard. Mir Muhammad Said had to remain alert day and night, looking after the necessities of the royal stay there.

At Bezwada (23 November) the captains of the three European Companies,—the English, the Dutch and the Danish,—accompanied by their respective retinue, came from Masulipatam, where they had been trading with the Sultan's permission, and interviewed the Sultan.³⁵

Reaching Weyoor (24 November) the Sultan ordered Mir Muhammad to go, along with Chatur Khan, the *ohudedar* of *faraskhana* and other *karkhanas* towards the port and Ingondoor (Engodour)^{35a} and set up the tents. Since the port was under the charge of Mir Muhammad he had to see to all arrangements and frame rules (for the procession?) from the

gateway of the port to the bankshall. Entering the port, the shops and houses of which were decorated by the traders with fine cloths and other articles, the Sultan, riding an elephant, proceeded towards the bankshall, with the Mir by his side, replying 'with due courtesy' to the Sultan's queries. After the conclusion of formal ceremonies in a *majlis* (Privy Council) convened in the spacious *bankshall* building, the Sultan inspected the port, and started towards the sea-side, known as Dubighat (Point Divy).

On 27 November the Sultan again went to the port and expressed his intention to visit the European factories the next day so that the men would depart, leaving their womenfolk to display fine cloths, merchandise and the chosen articles of produce in the uplands and lowlands. The Sultan conferred many favours on the factors. On the 29th the Sultan, accompanied by the ladies of the harem, went to the quarter, occupied by traders and foreign businessmen, and granted favours to sincere officers and the *Sar-i-Simt*. On December 3, Mir Muhammad entertained the Sultan and his family by a demonstration of sea-fishing at Dubighat. He collected together the fishermen, who, by joining their nets together, succeeded in bringing ashore a large number of fish, big and small.³⁶

The next day, on the occasion of offering *peshkash*, Mir Muhammad Said acquainted the Sultan with the condition of the port and its inhabitants. The Sultan showed great favours to businessmen and traders of diverse countries, residing there, by remitting (i) the *Zakat*, payable on every article, 'at the gate of the port', by all merchants, native or foreign, and, (ii) the brokerage, realised from traders in jewellery and which yielded a huge revenue. The Sultan's *farmans* of exemption were ordered to be engraved on stone-slabs and hung in the Jama Masjid of the port and that of the *zakat* in the way of an imprecation i.e. for compliance in future by *hakims* and *amils* on pain of an incurring divine curse. At the same time he relieved the traders importing rubies from Pegu from the exactions of the brokers. The news of this general favour reached 'the countries of Balabad and Zerbád' and became a cause of appreciation of the local traders and jewellers.

For the amelioration of the condition of the people, many

deserving persons, *Sayyids*, '*Alims*, pious men, living in the port, whether new-comers or old residents, received grants of pension, land or cash for subsistence. The Sultan also continued the grants of *Wazifas* to the *Sayyids*, including Mir Moinuddin Muhammad Shirazi, and Mir Muhammed Husain. Next, Mir Muhammad offered lavish praises and thanks for the Sultan's favours. The Sultan accepted the *peshkash* and then visited a salt *karkhana*.³⁷

On the day of departure (7 December), the Sultan, honoured Mir Muhammad by rewarding him with the *Chadar* (wrapper) from his own neck together with the *char-kob* (a kind of vest), an essential article of dress of honour pertaining to the office of the *Sar-i-Khail*, a sword with a jewelled sheath, one tusker with silver trappings and two Iraqi horses, one with silver trappings and the other with jewelled saddle, bridle and trappings. Through his mediation the captains of the Europeans, who had deserved presents for their various services, were duly honoured.³⁸

5. Influence of Mir Muhammad in the Golkonda State

Thus Mir Jumla held various dignified offices and 'in all of them', as Manucci observes, 'gave a good account of himself.' He gradually came to wield enormous political influence in the State. The earliest use of the title 'Nawab' applied to him is in an English factory record dated May 28, 1638, while he was called *Sar-i-Khail* only ten days before.³⁹ Nizamuddin Ahmad says that in every task Mir Muhammad proved himself to be a well-wisher of the Sultan and became his favourite, cherished by him. Mughal historians were equally impressed by the Mir's ability and influence. Waris remarks that Mir Jumla came to have the power of *ratk o fatk* (lit. opening and shutting) i.e., of controlling all the affairs of Qutb Shah. Aqil Khan says that Mir Jumla was 'all in all in the Golkonda State'.⁴⁰ Nothing could be done without his knowledge and approval. He became the intermediary between the Sultan and the European factors. Tavernier, wishing to sell some pearls and jewels to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah at Golkonda, had first of all to go

from Masulipatam to Mir Jumla at Gandikota because 'the King would buy nothing rare nor of high price which Mir Jumla..... had not first seen' (July 1652 N.S.). His undisputed supremacy in the internal administration of Golkonda State and his widespread commercial activities combined to make the foreign nations feel the weight of his influence. Thus the English factors at Masulipatam advised (December 14, 1639) their brethren in Persia that as 'the Chief Governor under the King, the *Sar-i-Khail* governed the whole kingdom'. Andrew Cogau, an envoy of the English East India Company to Golkonda, observed (1639) that the *Sar-i-Khail* 'indeed commanded the whole kingdom'.⁴¹ It would appear that Mir Muhammad succeeded Shaikh Muhammad ibn-i-Khatun as Mir Jumla, though the exact date when *Sar-i-Khail* Mir Muhammad became 'Mir Jumla' is not yet definitely known. Professor Sherwani holds that it was after the Mir's conquest of Udayagiri, one of the biggest forts of Vijayanagar, that he was appointed 'Mir Jumla' after June 18, 1643 when the news reached the Sultan. It was, indeed, a befitting occasion for the appointment.⁴² The Swally Marine factors put the whole thing succinctly when in 1643-44 they described him as the 'all ruling *Sar-i-Khail* or *Vizier*' who governed 'the king and consequently the country'. Efficient in administration and influential in government, Mir Jumla was equally great in war and he possessed remarkable military abilities which were well displayed in the conquest of the Eastern Karnatak, where he was deputed by Sultan in 1642, as explained in the next chapter. So great was his prestige that the Sultan ordered two ministers, Shuja-ul-mulk and Yulchi Beg, to accompany him.⁴³

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. H. K. Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan* : Sarkar, HSh. 1-2.
2. Early Life in Persia, given in general terms, in MU. iii. 530 ; Waris- (OPL. MS), 102a ; *Storia* i.226n, 231-2 and n ; Bernier, 16 and n ; Dow. iii. 182 ; Thevenot (1686 ed.) 102 ; Stewart. 319-70 ; Gribble, 269-72 ;

Sarkar, *Aurangzib*. i. 193 ; Love. i. 99 n ; IsC, July, 1929, p. 394 ; EFI. X (1655-60), 4.

Tavernier writes the name in 5 different ways, e.g., Mir Gimola, Mirza Mola, Mirgimola, Amir Jemla and Mir Jem la. Ball, I. 164n. Waris says (102a) that the titles of Mir Jumla and Muazzam Khan were given to him, in the Sultanat and those of Khan-i-Khanan Sipahsalar in Aurangzeb's time. But in fact 'Muazzam Khan, was a Mughal title. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, 221n. For the last title see *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*.

3. We get the name of Mir Muhammad's father in *Padshah Buranji* (IHQ. V. 474 ; *Isl. Culture*, 1928, p. 558). Perhaps 'Hazaru' of the *Buranji* was really Haidar, just as 'Majum Khan' was really Muazzam Khan.

The exact date of his birth is not stated anywhere. The tentative fixing of the year 1591 is based upon the following evidence. In his letters to Qutb Shah, written after the conquest of Gandikota (1650) Mir Jumla speaks of himself as "middle aged" or old (*Tabrezi*, 67a-68a). During the war of succession, Aurangzeb calls Mir Jumla *Pir*, aged. He also describes himself as *Pir*. While conducting the war with Shuja (1070/1659) Mir Jumla says that he was 70 years old. *Poem* (Sarkar Coll. Nat. Lib.) 172. This is corroborated by Assamese sources. On his way to Bengal, Mir Jumla speaks of "these seventy years of my life". See S. K. Bhuyan, 'New Lights on Mughul India from Assamese sources', *Isl. Culture*, 1929, p.394 ; *Padshah Buranji* ; IHQ, V. 473. Assuming these to be lunar years, we get the date of his birth to be 1000/1591.

4. Mir Jumla's letters in *Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters* give some idea of his erudition and scholarship. From *HS*, we come to learn that he belonged to the literary coterie of Nawab Allami Fahmi Shaikh Muhammad ibn-i-Khatun. See *Proc. IHC* (1940).

5. Mir Jumla's letters to Khalifa-i-Sultan in *Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters*. See my article on Mir Jumla-Iran Correspondence in *JBORS*. June, 1942 ; Stewart, 319-20 (See Malcolm, Sykes and *Zubdud Tawarikh*).

6. Nawab Khalifa-i-Sultan Imaduddaula, Wazir of Persia, succeeded Mirza Muhammad Taqi Imaduddaula on the latter's death, *Tabrezi*, 70a-72b.

Mir Jumla's admiration for the justice, trade and religion of Persia shows that he, very naturally, retained a soft corner in his mind, for the land of his birth and, during the formative period of his career as minister in Golkonda, he maintained harmonious relations with the Court of Iran. This is clearly illustrated by his letters to Khalifa-i-Sultan. Vide my article on Mir Jumla—Iran Correspondence in *JBORS*, (June 1942). This cordiality was profoundly helpful to him and was dictated by high political wisdom and foresight, as we shall find later on. At the same time he maintained commercial relations with Persia throughout his active career, and we read of one Haji Muhammad Shafi, his agent in Iran (*Tabrezi* 33b-34b).

7. *Storia* I. 231-2. Persian horse trade, Mandels 10, 13. Re : Persian penetration into Golkonda Nizamuddin Ahmad says that the good name of Abdulla Qutb Shah spread far, and people from Iraq, Khorasan and Iran

came and were favoured with high appointments, and that the majority of amirs, wazirs (with soliders), *Ummals*, *ohudadars*, scribes, mansabdars, counsellors, *sillahdars* came from Iran. Many businessmen, either in the capital or ports, who had acquired much wealth, were also men from Iran ; so great was Sultan's favours that they forgot their homes. H. S. 475-492. (Text esp. 478-9). Thevenot also observes that the Omrahs or great lords of Golkonda were mainly Persians or sons of Persians and they were "all rich"—"for they not only have great pay yearly of the king for their offices but they make extreme advantage also by the soldiers, scarcely paying one half of the number they are obliged to entertain; besides that, they have gratification from the kind of lands and villages, whereof he allows them the use, when they commit extraordinary exactions by the Bramens who are their farmers." (1686 Edn., 102). Some of the great amirs were exceedingly rich.

8. The date of his arrival, stated to be 1630 by Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, I. 270 has been accepted by Sarkar, *Aurangzib I & II*, 193, and Foster, *EFI* 1655-60, p. 4. In that case he must then have been about 40 years old i.e., past youth. This seems unlikely. The words "youthful" and "age of discretion and manhood" might suggest the ages 25-30. The approximate period of his arrival would be somewhere between 1615-25. Tavernier's statement (Ball, I. 165) that Mir Muhammad helped Abdullah Qutb Shah in his accession (1626) indicates that the former arrived before 1630 ; but it is not corroborated by any other source. Abdullah Qutb Shah ascended the throne at the age of 12 on Wednesday, 14 Jumadiul Awwal, 1035/February 1, 1626.

9. Storia, i. 232 ; Bernier, 16-17 ; Dow, *op. cit.* ; Love i. 99-100n. Thevenot 98 (price and weight of diamonds), 102 & 105 (diamond mines) ; Gribble, 270 ; *EFI*, *op.cit.*

It is not clear whether he was the same merchant whose clerk Mir Jumla was.

10. This is clear from the absence of any reference to him in connection with the mission (1633-34) of Thomas Joyce & Wyche to the Golkonda court and the fact that the latter received "unspeakable courtesie" from Elchi Beg, a Persian, then the chief peer. *EFI*. V. xxxiii, 47 ; H.S., 374.

11. See my article on 'Some Aspects of the Qutb Shahi Administration of Golkonda', *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.* 1943 ; *JBRs*, March. 1944 : 'The Rise of Mir Jumla', *Proc. IHRC* (Trivandrum, 1942), 105-8. Shaikh Md. was re-appointed on 17 Rajab 1045/17 Dec. 1635. H.S. 389-97, 478 ; Love I. 99-100n ; *EFI* (1634-6), 72.

12. H.S. 71f ; 80-84, 189-192 (Chronogram, p. 172). QN. 18, 19, 30-1 ; HA. 315-6.

Shaikh Md. Ibn-i-Khatun, one of the most distinguished Peshwas of Golkonda, migrated from Iran (1591-2). After his appointment as Peshwa he was accused of some charges and placed under house internment during 1632-34. He was not only reinstated on 29.3.1634 after these were found to be baseless, but also entrusted with the duties of Mir Jumla. Highly learned he was called *Allama* and also '*Nawab Allami Fahmi*'. He

died at Mukha in S. Arabia on his way to Mecca (1649). See Sherwani, QSD. (based on *Hadaiq* and *Tarikh Qutb Shahi*) 506, 558-9n.

13. The word Mir Jumla (Meer Joomla or Ameer-i-Joomla) is the title of the holder of a post both in Golkonda and Ahmadnagar (HA. 206-7) and not a personal name. Literally the term implies 'the chief of the collections', and so strictly his office was that of a finance minister (Briggs III. 475n). But his duties were not confined to purely civil or financial matters, but embraced the military tasks of leading expeditions and the police functions of maintaining law and order in the State (Briggs III. 329, 404, 409, 333, 334, 447, 475-6, 482; HA. 202; 244). Mir Jumla had the power of appointment and dismissal, subject to the Sultan's approval.

14. QN 18-20,34; HS. 84-87, 172-4, 194.

15. Sillahdars were placed under Mir Jumla who was expected to proceed to the royal graveyard on Thursday. The functions of the diwani would be discharged daily in the presence of all officers and contractors in the *Lal Mahal*. The salaries of officers of all grades & councillors (*Majlisian*), tax-gatherers, *sillahdars* and manials were calculated, and the arrears of pay of the courtiers were paid. Remissions of debts were allowed to many. Able men were patronised, and learned men and merchants received considerable help. During the weekly visits of the Sultan, the house of Mir Jumla became a meeting place of officials, nobles and favoured persons. The Nawab, in spite of his being engrossed in the multifarious duties of the State, and paying respects to the Sultan twice (a day), used to discuss with the learned and the pious, poets and other gifted persons on various subjects. Then he attended to worldly affairs and repaired to the mansion of the High Diwan (*daulat khana-i-diwani Ala*). On his return from the royal darbar, he went to the *diwan khana*, where an assembly (Jamait) of all officers, big or small, amils, contractors, registrar of collections, was held, and the administration of the affairs of the Sultan and the people were disposed of till evening. Twice or thrice a month, Majlises were held attended by the hajibs of Iran and Hind in the gardens surrounding the city. On the whole he was an able officer. H.S. 355-363, 389-98. EF. 1637-41, 53n; Proc. IHRC, 1942.

16. HS (397, 446) has Masulipatam and Mustafanagar (Kondapalli). But the charge over Mustafanagar was given later. See K.K. Basu, A Chapter from Golkonda history in Proc. Ind Hist. Cong. (1940), 267. Stewart's account (I.320) that Mir Md. got an employment about 1060 A.H. is thus wrong. According to Manucci (op. cit), he received good pay.

An entry in BDR dated 31 Oct. 1636 refers to Mir Muhammad as 'Moorschen gouverneur Mirmameth Sahij' (p. 267).

17. My article on 'Early relations of Mir Jumla with the English' in Proc. I.H.C. (1939), 919-23; Sherwani, QSD, 489-91.

HS. 5 69-70. We learn from Nizamuddin that for some reasons, the custom of sending remittances from Golkonda for charity to Mecca,

Medina and the burial places of Imams, had been stopped. Shah Abbas Safavi of Persia (c. 1639 ?) took *Ormuz* from the *firingis* and cleared the *daria* of them and depopulated the fort of Ormuz, and set up a new port, Bandar Abbasi. From the ports of Hindustan, many ships went there and from Masulipatam also, many Muhammadans, *firingis* (English and Dutch) staying there and constructing big ships, sent ships. The Sultan decided to send 'trustworthy amins' with the articles of *nazar* to Bandar Abbasi and from there they would spend according to their needs. So after consulting Nawab Allami the Sultan selected some persons (e.g., Mir Tajuddin 4000 hun). HS. 525-27.

Thevenot's description of Masulipatam (104-105) : narrow streets, intolerably hot in March-July ; houses all separated one from another ; water brackish on account of tides.

18. For the terms *Simt*, meaning district rather than a province (or *taraf*), *Sar Simt* or chief civil representative and *Shah Bandar* or chief port officer. See Sherwani, QSD 511-513, and notes on pp. 588-89.

Masulipatam to Surat, Aug. 13, 1636, EFI. V. 277. All these are different persons. Two of the Shahbandars were Khwajah Muhammad Kasim (EFI. VI. 75n ; VII. p. 233) and Syed Alley (Saiyid Ali, ? Mir Sayyid Ali) (Letter of Masulipatam Oct 20, 1640. FEF. VI. p. 261). According to R.C. Temple, the word *Shah Bandar* meant in Malay States under Br. rule (1919), "the Port officer, as distinguished from the custom house officer". He quotes the Annual Report of the British Adviser to the State of Trengganu that the Supdt. of the Chandu ('intoxicating drugs') Dept. is also in charge of the Customs and Shahbandar offices at Kuala Trengganu." IA. 1921, p. 228.

19. Mir Fasihuddin succeeded Mulla Muhammad Taqi when the latter was summoned to the capital by Mansur Khan Habshi Mir Jumla towards the close of the 2nd regnal year of Abdullah Qutb Shah. Mansur Khan left all the duties of Mir Jumlagi in the hands of Taqi (for one year), who came to be described by Nizamuddin as officiating diwan. HS. 173-84 ; QN. 27-29.

20. This letter is undated, but it is added in EFI. 1624-29, p. 280-4 to the consultation held at Masulipatam, Sept. 11, 1628. 'Mirpass' or 'Mirpasse' of English factory records is not Mir Abbas, as suggested by Bilgrami to Sir William Foster, but Mir Fasih, i.e. Mir Fasihuddin Muhammad and 'Mamatucki' is not Mahmud Taqi but Muhammad Taqi, i.e., Mullah Muhammad Taqi Taqrishi.

21. EFI. IV. (1630-33), 99 ; BDR (1631-4, p. 45) in EFI. op. cit. f.n ; Masulipatam to Surat. EFI. op. cit., p. 228. The suit of the English to the Sultan was opposed by Mirza Rosbihan (Rozbihan), who, along with 'some of other great men', expected a bribe, 'which in these parts will open any passage and without which nothing can be effected except per force, which the Dutch have and do make use of, being therefore the better esteemed.' The letter goes on, 'such is the miserable condition of the country, whence justice and truth are fled long since, the poor exceedingly

suffering the tyranny of the rich without redress.'

22. There is a difference of about 6 months between the dates in Eng. Factory records and those given here. For details, see my article on the Early Relations of Mir Jumla with the English (up to 1650) in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.* (1939), 919-23; vide my art. 'Some Aspects of Golkonda Administration, JBORS. 1944. Thevenot, 104-5 (1686 ed.); EFI. 1634-6, 277; 1637-41, 261.

The 'Malliveece' of Eng. Factory records was not *maulavi*, as suggested by Foster but Mulla Wais. HS. 397-98 Abdulla. *Sar-i-Lashkar* of Kasim Kota and Kalang, (apptd. *Sar-i-Khail* on 19 Shawwal on advice of Nawab Allami. Mulla Wais, *Munshi-ul-Mamalik*, had served under Shariful Mulk *Sar-i-Khail*; and was later appointed *Jawabnabs* in the *Daftar Khana*: Promoted (? 1626) to the office of Dabir and made permanent. HS. 596 ff. 397-8. He was unwilling to give up the post of *dabir* and accept that of *Sar-i-Khail* and so Abdullah was appointed (HS. 397).

23. HS. 397-98, 446-8, 389-98. For Mir Jumla's relations with the Europeans since, 1935-6, see ch. 2, Sec. C. *Infra*.

24. The Sultan, hearing of the advance of the Mughal army gave Md. Taqi *Sar-i-Khail* 50,000 hunns for collecting an army and the post of *Sardari* (commander) was added to that of *Sar-i-Khail*. Several elephants were given to him from the Sultan's stables. He collected Deccani, Afghan and Arab soldiers, and his position improved daily. HS. 184-188; QN. 31-32. For various incumbents of the post, see HS.

History of the post of *Sar-i-Khail*, JBORS, *op. cit.* EFI. 1665-7, p. 242; 1668-9, p. 288.

25. HS. 88, 82, 184-188, 317-20, 335, 341, 355-63, 389-98, 446-8; QN 19, 20, 31, 32, 47-8, 49-50; *Storia*, I. 231-2 (presents). His salary of 3000 *huns* (Sherwani, 507), was certainly 'good'. (*Storia* I, 232). Many including the author, Nizamuddin, composed poems on this occasion and the chronogram is found in *guft sarkhail kamil-o-dana*. (p. 449). Abdullah Khan was not altogether hurled from royal favours and was included among the *majlis* and given 3000 hunns as pay.

Sherwani gives two dates of Mir Muhammad's appointment as *Sar-i-Khail* (i) 9.2. 1047/15 6. 1637 on the basis of *Hadiqa*, 190 and (ii) as 14th regnal year or 1048/1638-9 on the basis of the same source p. 215 (*Qutb Shahi Dyn.*, p. 456 and 561n respectively). His first date tallies with the date given in the text but differs by a few days in its English equivalent). He has not, however, reconciled this difference in the two years. Perhaps this may be due to the fact that the earlier appointment in 1637 was temporary (H.S. 517) and the second was permanent. Later on he received the epithet *Omdat-ul-Naqaba* (H.S. 602).

26. HS. 449-50; See Pr. I.H.C. 1940, 267.

27. He was an old malik and an important officer of the kingdom, acting as havaladar of some *Karkhanas* viz., *Sarkar-i-Imarat* (Government buildings), *Zarradkhana* (armourer's shop), *Zargarkhana* (goldsmith's

department), *topkhana* (artillery) and of some *gasbas* in the environs of the Shahr (? capital) and had some other important posts. He was favoured by Mansur Khan Habshi Mir Jumla and had become one of the four pillars of the kingdom. HS. 85.

28. Garden built by Shaddad. It is a fine example of Indo-Persian architecture and painting in Golkonda, HS. 503-506. Many composed poems praising this palace and wrote chronograms. Some of the *qasidas* were ordered to be written by Maulana Arab Shirazi, an expert calligraphist, on planks and stones, for being hung up on the walls of the Summer-room (*Ibid*, 506-8). Thevenot's description of the royal palace (1686 ed. p. 95) suggests that it was the same as that built by Mir Jumla: 'The palace which is three hundred and fourscore paces in length, takes up not only one of the sides of the Palace, but is continued to the Four towers, where it terminates in a very lofty Pavillion. The walls of it which are built of great stones, have at certain distances half towers, and there are many windows towards the place, with an open Gallery to see the shews. They say it is very pleasant within and that the water rises to the highest Apartments; The Reservatory of that water, which is brought a great way off, is in the top of the four towers, from whence it is conveyed into the House by Pipes. No man enters into this Palace, but by an express order from the King, who grants it but seldom; nay, commonly, nobody comes near it, and in the place there is a circuit Staked out, that must not be passed over. ...That which is called the Four Towers is a square building ...All the Galleries of that building serve to make the water mount up, that so being afterwards conveyed to the King's Palace, it might reach the highest apartments.'

29. HS. 508-13. Malik Almas, the havildar of artisans, received a handsome *khilat*; and others engaged in the task of construction were also given exalting articles. Big *majlisis*, *sillahdars* and *mahaldars*, with their respective groups of fauj, offered *kurnish* after ascending the storey. The Sultan ordered all, big and small, to don white robes. There was display of scents. At the dinner, the Sultan ordered that big amirs should dine with Nawab Allami. The Queen-mother ordered food articles to be distributed by special messengers in thousands of trays (from 10 to 100) to different *hajibs*, *wazirs*, *majlisis*, favourites, according to their status; each tray weighing 1 md. to 5 mds." All, either *khass* or *am*, got a share of this function and prayed for the Sultan. (*Ibid*. 512-3).

European writers testify to the profusion of diamonds and other gems in Golkonda, which became famous for its mines in Europe. See Havart; and Valantyn. JASB XIII. 1844, 430n.

30. HS. 516-19, 530-1, 535. Mulla Wais served under Sharifulmulk *Sar-i-Khail*; was appointed *jawabnavis* in the *daftarkhana-i-shahit*. He was promoted to the office of *dabir* and subsequently confirmed and continued for about 10/12 years till *Omdatulnuqaba* Mir Muhammad Said was appointed *Sar-i-Khail*. H.S. 517, 596 ff. 602.

For fate of Mulla Wais, (1) He asked pardon and was included among *majlisis*, (2) was imprisoned at Muhammadnagar on a charge of conspiracy

with Bijapur, his letters being intercepted and produced before court. (3) Further correspondence being disclosed, he was whipped by Rahim Khan *mahaldar-i-khas huzur*, (4) again some letters of his were intercepted and on 14 Rajab 120 Oct. 1640, the Sultan ordered him to be chained in foot and brought to his own house. He was now blinded. His property which had been given to him was sold and he proceeded to Masulipatam to go to Bandar Abbasi, according to Sultan's orders. *Ibid*, 530-1, 535, 594, 602-610.

Mirza Taqi was the son of Qazi Ghulam Ali Nishapuri who was for long *Aqzalquzzat* in the capital of Asaf Jah (i.e. Masulipatam). On getting the royal farman he started from the port of Masulipatam, where he was then staying, to take charge of his duties. (*Ibid*). Mirza Taqi, falling ill, was succeeded by Hakim Abdul Jabbar Gilani as *dabir* (middle of Rabi I—June 1640). *Ibid*. 594.

31. HS. 531 ; *Storia* I, 231 (Wazir) ; Love, I, 14n (before 19 July, 1639). See Plan of Hyderabad Sh. 51 Map by Pharaah & Co.

32. For the Sultan's journey, Rajab 12-Ramzan 12, HS. 533-80 ; *EFI*. VI, 221 ; See Sherwani. QSD 504-5 ; 489-91 (Masulipatam)

33. HS. 535-37. The Golkonda State, like the Mughal Empire, had its *Karkhanas* for supplying its needs. Janab Asaf Jahi, Mir Md. Said and other amirs and *majlis* started before the Sultan. The party along with the Sultan reached Hashtmahal (details of procession and posting of officers). Mir Md. Asaf Jahi, together with Nawab Allami and Hakim-ul-mulk accompanied the Sultan (order of march described) (HS. 538-46).

34. Nizamuddin was not at first with the party, but was advised by Nawab Allami to join it. (*Ibid*, 549) ; At Hayatabad the camps of the ambassadors of Iran and Delhi were pitched respectively near that of Mir Muhammad and Nawab Allami (*Ibid* 550-51). Moonagalah *ibid*, 557. History of Anantgiri fort ; captured by Malik Moid Ghazi from the Hindu rais. It had many deep wells and reservoirs filled with water and was highly praised by the visiting team of *arkan-i-daulat*. *Ibid*. 558-59. History of Mustafanagar, *ibid*, 562-3.

35. This Kohistan encircled land about 40 farsakhs and it was a very lofty hill. In length it was 4/5 farsakhs. Formerly it was under the Hindu rajas, who had constructed 12 strong forts on the highest peaks, each having a different name. Malik Moid, a lineal descendant of the Qutb Shah and the 4th grandfather of the Ala Hazrat had first attacked it in 912 A.H. and had several times fought with Chikti Rao or Jagti Rao, who was the ruler of the whole of Telingana, defeated him and captured the country after imprisoning him. The objects of wonder were seen by the Sultan—its open level plain, and in the middle parts of the mountain many *Shahars* (towns) containing gardens, full of trees and fruits and everything in plenty, many big tanks and deep wells, full of water, by which good harvest was reaped, *ibid*. 562-3.

Descent on 22nd November (Friday) ; the Sultan held a *majlis*, where a discussion took place on the construction and materials of the fort ; and

on every matter the Sultan's orders were issued and a handsome *khilat* and 500 *huns* were given as reward to the *Sar Simt* of the place. *ibid.* 564-5.

Very probably Andrew Cogan's mission to the Sultan of Golkonda (1639) was arranged now and it was through Mir Muhammad's efforts that Andrew Cogan was able to interview the Sultan. "See my article on 'Early Relations of Mir Jumla with the English till 1650' in Proc. I.H.C., (1939)

The number of the Sultan's followers was 5000 (Masulipatam to Persia Dec. 14, 1639). EFI. (1637-41), 221.

35a. Orme, *Mil. Trans.* Vol. I, Map of Coromandel.

Text wrongly reads Ankzar.

36. Weyoor, *ibid.*, 565; Masulipatam, Centre of cloth trade in Golkonda, *ibid.* 567-74 (description of Sultan's dress and equipage); chronogram; *Padshah amad ba sair balr-o-bar* (P. 571).

37. Sultan's beneficent orders; History of favoured persons; Manner of refining salt, *ibid.*, 574-8.

38. On the return journey (*ibid.*, 578-80) there is no mention of the activities of Mir Jumla. Probably he remained behind. Forbes, *Hindusthani Dictionary*, 311.

According to the English factors (Masulipatam to Persia,) Dec. 14, 1639) the Sultan's visit had adverse effects. Their financial condition as well that of the Danes was equally bad, though the Dutch could present rubics and were highly esteemed. Even the Sultan hardly got even half of 600,000 pagodas promised by the *Sar-i-Khail*. EFI (1637-41), 221.

39. *Storia* I. 231.2. Bernier, 17; EFI. VI (1637-41), 76-77.

40. HS. 517-18. He is described as one of the servants of Qutb Shah, who was cherished by him (Q N. 82). In the *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* (ASB. MS) p. 60, he is described as one of the renowned amirs of Haidarabad (*amiran-i-namdar-i-Haidarabad*). Q.N. 82. Waris 102a; See MU. III. 530; *Storia* I. 231; ZNA, 12.

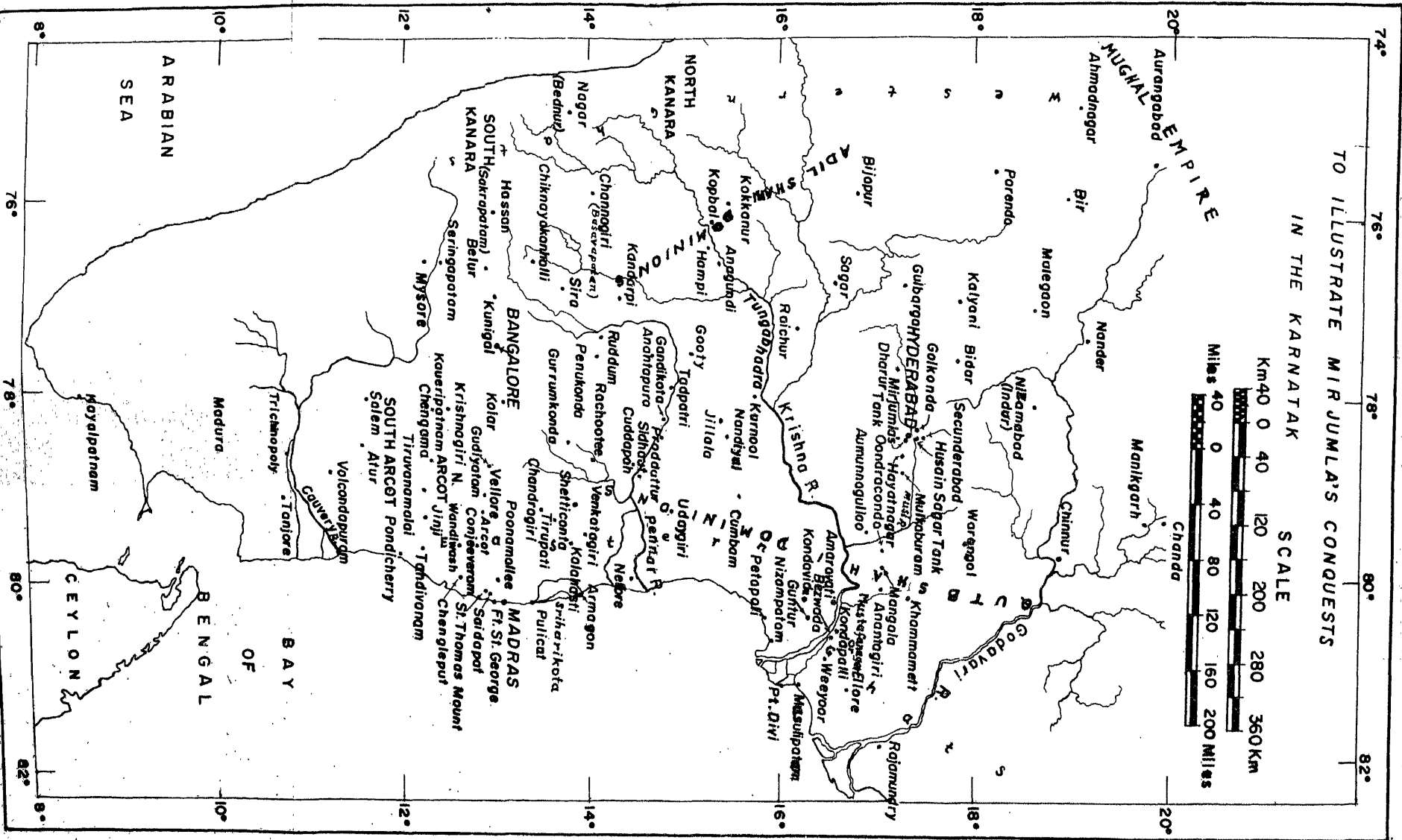
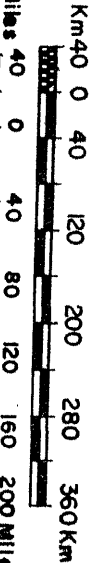
41. EFI. VI (1637-41), 260, 162-3, 200, 220-22 (Cogan to Bantam Sept. 3, 1639).

42. EFI. VII. 88, 207-8 (Swally Letters Jan. 17, 1643, Nov. 28, 1644); Pr. IHC (1939), 945; Ball, I. 259, 200-32.

In *Mukatabat-i-Muquima* (Asiatic Society MS) a palace built by Asaf Jahi Amir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla Shahi is praised (7a-10b). The Chronogram is for 1051/1641. This would show that the title of Mir Jumla was given to him in or before 1641.

43. General of Qutb Shahi army, *Storia*, I. 231 Sherwani, QSD, 458, 508 (based on HS.), 567n; see Ch. II *post*.

SCALE



Mir Jumla in the Karnatak

SECTION A

ROLE OF MIR JUMLA IN THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST OF THE KARNATAK

1. The Karnatak country and previous Muhammadan penetration into it

The term Karnataka or Karnat, though at first used as a generic one, including both the Telugu and Kanarese peoples and their languages, came to be applied, in process of time, to only the Kanarese people and language. The *Karnatak-desa* thus properly implies 'the Kanarese country,' the uplands or the Balaghat. The Muhammadans, first arriving in Southern India found the country above the Ghats including Mysore and part of Telingana called Karnata. But as Vijaynagar receded to the east, the Telugu and Tamil areas, the term Karnat came to be applied to the plain country or Payanghat in the East. The division of Vijaynagar territory between the Deccani Sultanates resulted in the use of the terms Bijapuri Karnatak and Haidarabadi Karnatak, each consisting again of Balaghat and Payanghat, when the Tungabhadra became the northern boundary of the Karnatak. The English restricted, the name Karnat to the country below the Ghats,—including

the Tamil country of Madras and the Telugu district of Nellore, territories constituting the dominions of the Nawab of the 'Carnatic'. Thus, the Mysore country, probably the true or historical Karnatak is no longer called as such and the Karnatak of modern geography i.e., the lowlands of Madras or Coromandel Coast, has no historical right to the name.

The *Kanarese* country has been famous from the earliest times for its fertility of soil, richness in minerals, elephants and accumulated treasures. But the Eastern Karnatak (Payanghat), the plains lying between the Eastern Ghats and the sea coast of Madras, were infinitely richer and more populous than the Bijapuri or Western Karnatak. Its diamond mines, fertile valleys and hoards of buried treasures of old Hindu dynasties subsequently excited Aurangzeb's lust for the occupation of that rich and large province. 'It was', as he once wrote to Shahjahan, 'equal to the kingdom of Golkonda itself in wealth and extent'. Thus both the divisions of the Deccan, Malnad and Karnatak, constituted a rich and fertile country. Zahur-ibn-Zahuri, author of *Muhammadnamah* writes that the climate there was delightful and the air refreshing. Rains were sufficient for a plentiful harvest in the 17th century when it surpassed even Egypt and Syria, in agriculture and the 'stores of grain kissed the sky'. Even the small *qasbas* were well-populated and ordinary citizens were fairly well-off. 'The homestead of every householder displayed morning and evening the prosperity of Faridun in Iran. No day passes when a villager did not lavishly distribute the products of his fields as alms'. The sky-scraping trees of golden hue, yielded luxuriantly fruits of various kinds,—*golab jamun*, pomegranates and grapes while mangoes were of surpassing sweetness. A bounteous Nature lavished her favours on the country and visitors' minds were sure to be captivated by the varied foliage of trees, *naseem* flowers and songs of birds. Indeed, as Thevenot also remarks that the region was 'exceeding fruitful' and provisions were very cheap there, as sheep, partridges and fowl were plentiful. Important towns on the coast like Negapatam, Tranquebar, Mylapur and San Thome testified to a flourishing commerce of the region.¹

Such a rich country naturally aroused the cupidity of the

neighbouring States of Bijapur and Golkonda, and, later on, of the Mughal Empire too, particularly when it could no longer be effectively defended. Barred in the north by the Deeds of Submission or partition treaties of May-June, 1636 between Shah Jahan, Adil Shah and Qutb Shah, the two Deccani Sultans could find a free outlet for their aggressive instincts only in the southern and eastern directions across the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, into Mysore, and the Madras Karnatak, and at the expense of the numerous petty and warring principalities, the jarring atoms of the moribund Vijaynagar empire, which covered the Karnatak from the river Krishna to Tanjore, beyond the Kaveri. The Adil Shah of Bijapur, desirous of unfurling the banner of Islam in *darul harb Karnatak* conquered first 'Malnad' i.e., the Kanara country of Bednur, and Mysore, and then 'Karnatak' i.e., the Eastern Karnatak or the Madras plains up to Vellore, Jinji and Valikandapuram near Tanjore. The Qutb Shah of Golkonda seized the Hindu principalities due south and southeast of his capital i.e., the country beyond the Krishna, lying north-east of these new Bijapuri acquisitions. Crushed by these conquests, as between 'the two jaws of a monster' lay the kingdom of Chandragiri, the last remnant of the Vijaynagar Empire with its territory shrunk to the region from Nellore to Pondicherry on the east and the frontier of Mysore on the west. Torn by repeated wars of succession, in which nobles and Nayaks participated and enfeebled by the growing weakness of the central government, the rise of the several Nayaks, chiefly of Madura, Jinji and Tanjore, 'vassals and enemies' alike, lack of union due to mutual jealousy and bad faith, the conflict between the Tamil and the Kanarese elements, the kingdom of Chandragiri could not present a united front to the invaders. The Rayal, in spite of continued resistance, found his dominions slipping away from his grasp one after another. The combination of all these forces rendered the course of political history extremely complicated and the kaleidoscopic changes in the relations of the Rayal and the Nayaks *inter se* and in the system of alliances with and among the invading forces, determined purely by temporary or transient considerations of self-interest, were further confused by the intervention of the foreign companies

in the troubled affairs of the Deccan.

(a) Bijapur

The numerous Hindu States of the Mysore plateau were conquered or reduced to vassalage by the Sultan of Bijapur, e.g., Ikkeri, Sera, Bangalore and Kurnool since 1622-23 and more effectively during 1636-48. Within a short span of seven years (1637-44) his generals (*Sar-i-Laskhar* or *Sipah Salar*), Randaula Khan (Rustam-i-Zaman), Afzal Khan, Mustafa Khan and Khan Muhammad succeeded in absorbing Bednur and parts of Mysore. The first general Rustam Randaula could achieve success in his bid to conquer Malnad and Karnatak in 1637-41 by cleverly adding diplomacy to military skill. His expedition to the Kanara country of Bednur was launched at the instance of Keng Nayak (Kenge Hanuma), Raja of Tarikere and Basavapatan. To secure the Rayal's co-operation against his recalcitrant Nayaks, Rustam proposed a pact by which the wealth of the conquered areas would be appropriated by Bijapur and the empty forts only occupied by Venkata III. The latter agreed at first but later retracted on grasping its true import. Rustam then netted Sri Ranga, the rebel nephew of the Rayal. Having thus cleared the deck of possible sources of help, Rustam, assisted by Keng Nayak, had no difficulty in subding Virabhadra, Raja of Ikkeri (Nagar dt. 30 December 1637). Then, crossing the Tungabhadra, he planned to advance to Tadpatri (Anantapur dt.), headquarters of Pemmasani chiefs of Gandikota. But he changed his plan and, along with his lieutenant, Afzal Khan, marched upon Bangalore, held by Kemp Gonda (Kempe Gauda), —perhaps on the advice of Kenge Hanuma (now won over by the Hindus) and also because Sri Ranga rebelled (1638). Occupying Sera (Tumkur dt. held by Kasturi Ranga) and placing it under Shahji Bhosle, Rustam invested Srirangapatam fort of Kanthirava Narasa (Raja Kanti Rai) and returned to Bijapur with an indemnity of 5 lakh *hums* (1638-9). Thus Bijapur conquered large parts of Mysore.

The rebellion of Keng Nayak and a general rising of the Hindu rajas throughout the Kanarese country against Bijapur brought Rustam back. He now captured Tarikere-Basavapatan (Decem-

ber, 1638) after heavy fighting with the help of the ruler of Ikkeri, who harboured an old grudge. Venkata, fighting with soldiers supplied by the Nayaks, was defeated early in July 1639. He could not capture Bangalore in November also, as it was then too late. At the news of rebellion of the chief of Chik-Nayakan-halli in Tumkur district Rustam deputed Afzal Khan, who conquered it, besides capturing Bellur (held by Venkata III and exchanged for Sarkapatam), Tamkur, Balapur and Kunigal as well. During May-August 1641, Rustam, again joined by Sri Ranga, advanced upon Venkata III at Vellore but had to return owing to the combined opposition of the rulers of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji. Then Sri Ranga (Ranga III) of Chandragiri made a pact (c. March, 1644) with the Bijapuris that he would co-operate with them in their conquests, and that while the Bijapur government would acquire the plunder and the wealth of the forts, the Rayal would get the empty forts. He was even honoured by the Padshahi *Chatr*. But the Rayal soon violated this pact and tried to make a Hindu coalition against Bijapur, with the result that Rustam-i-Zaman conquered many forts in an indescribable series of victories. The Rayal was forgiven and he paid 50 lakhs of huns as *peshkash*. Rustam-i-Zaman next conquered Balapur and Kulihal (? Kunigal, given to the Rayal). In 1644, the fort of Ikkeri was captured, then lost to Shivappa Nayak of Bednur and finally retaken by Khan Muhammad, who swept the whole area between the Pennar and the Krishna-Tungabhadra, covering Sagar and Kurnool with several forts like Nandiyal, Sirivella and Kanigiri (1645). Thus by 1645 Bijapur came to annex considerable territories of the Western Karnatak.²

(b) Golkonda

As compared to the rapid succession of victories secured in the Western Karnatak by Bijapur before 1645 the initial attempts of Golkonda to gain a substantial footing in the Eastern Karnatak uplands (Balaghat) did not meet with any striking success. Down to 1642 Kambam on the north-east side of the Cuddapah district remained the limit of her advance in the South-east.

Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, not willing to lag behind in the race for seizure of the Karnatak, deputed his able *Sar-i-Khail*, Mir Muhammad Said, to effect 'a complete transformation' there. As Waris observes; 'No Nayak of Qutb-ul-mulk could capture even a small part of it but Mir Jumla conquered it with a few big fortresses.'³

2. First Deputation of Mir Muhammad

The situation in Vijaynagar kingdom was also favourable for the realisation of the Sultan's dreams. Its ruler, Venkata-pati or Venkata III (1630-42) had to reckon with the hostility of an internal rival for the first five years of his reign. Then, on account of his suspected alliance with the Nayak of Jinji, he had to face the machinations of two powerful subordinate Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura leading to a war in 1637. The successive waves of Bijapuri invasions, described above, weakened the resources and strength of the Rayal. To complete the cup of his difficulties, his relations with his own nephew, Sri Ranga, were so strained towards the end of his reign that the latter joined Bijapur. Hence Venkata III could not offer any effective resistance, even with Velugoti Timma, master of Armagon and Damarla Venkata, ruler of Madraspatam and Poonamallee (40,000 men), to the Qutb Shahi hosts.

In 1052/April 1642 Mir Muhammad Said advanced with an army of 40,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry and artillery, along with both Muslim and Hindu commanders like Ali Raza Khan (*Sar-i-Lashkar* of Kondavidu, head of royal guards), Ghazi Ali Beg (head of Maratha cavalry), Alam Khan Pathan, Ainul mulk, Shuja-ul-mulk, Dadaji Kantia, and *naikwars* like Asir Rao, Venkata Reddi and others. Arrangements for regular and adequate supplies of food and fodder at market rates as well as for postal transmission of news (*dakchauki*) by fast couriers and pigeons between the camp and the court were made.

Making forced marches due south along the coast from the military base at Kondavidu Mir Muhammad reached Nellore plains unopposed and occupied eight of its big forts with battlements and circumvallations after repulsing the defenders' sorties. Proceeding further south the resolute general had to

requisition the services of sappers and miners from the capital to capture the strong and well-defended fort of Dumburu (or Dandaluru) by digging trenches and mining, 20.1.1052/11 April 1642. Next he occupied the big island of Sriharikota (midway between Armagon and Pulicat) (under Timma) and several other forts on 1.2.1052/21 April 1642 by repulsing the allied forces of the Rayal, Timma and Damarla Venkata. Profoundly depressed, the Rayal retired to the hilly areas of Chittoor district where he breathed his last within six months on October 10, 1642. He was succeeded after nineteen days by his nephew Sri Ranga as Ranga III (29 October, 1642-1681).

The occupation of Sriharikota served as a wedge between Armagon in the north and Pulicat in the south, an early illustration of Mir Jumla's characteristic strategy. It enabled him to grab a munch of the territory round Armagon, though a major part still remained with Sri Ranga, who placed a strong garrison at Venkatagiri and Armagon. The English factors recorded that the Nayak of Armagon was 'absolutely beaten out of all his country,' now partitioned between the Sultan and the Rayal. The Muhammadans established their base at Cowla Geldanke, 'the chiefest place in all country'. The English factors even believed that the entire region would soon become subject to Muhammadan rule. They shrewdly observed: "What with the king of Bijapur on one side and the king of Golkonda on the other, the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, it is even impossible their country can continue."

From Nellore as base, the Golkonda army advanced after the rains and occupied in quick succession the forts of Nakbat, Rapur (19.10.1052/31 Dec., 1642) and Kullur (24.10.1052/4.1.1643). The defenders deserted the first. The second, defended 'Sangrezraj', one of the most powerful local chieftains with 10-12,000 horse and a large infantry, was in the midst of a large forest. So the invaders constructed two small forts after clearing the trees, the initiative being taken by the Qutbshahi general. Besides the Muslim captains, Khairat Khan and Syed Muhammad Mazandarani, there were also Hindus like the two Reddi brothers Venkata and Timma, and Rawalji Kantia. The fight for Kullur, a fairly big fort, was keen, lasting for nearly a month (24. 10.52/4. 1. 43—end of Shawwal 1052/Jan. 1643).

The Rayal encamped with a large army at Tirupati (March-April 1643) but fearful of the superior arms of the enemy and apprehensive of the treachery of some rebellious nobles, especially Damarla Venkata of Kalahasti and Tupakki Krishnappa of Jinji who encouraged the Qutb Shahis, retreated to Vellore. Instead of pursuing him, Mir Muhammad moved northwards to the big fort of Udayagiri, the shuttlecock of the rival powers. Situated on the Valikonda range the fort was inaccessible, with only one entrance, overhanging a chasm several thousand yards deep and five hundred yards broad. Mir Muhammad could capture it only with the golden key, winning over the Hindu commander, Mallaiya, who disclosed a secret passage (c. middle of June, 1643). Flushed with such an unprecedented series of conquests, culminating in the conquest of the strategic fort of Udayagiri, news of which reached the Sultan on 10.4. 1053/18 June, 1643, he gratefully rewarded his victorious *Sar-i-Khail* by appointing him Mir Jumla. The latter went to pay court to his master and remained at the court for some time.⁵

Thus during the years 1642 and 1643 Qutb Shah was able, through Mir Jumla's services, to overrun the coastal regions to the north of Pulicat. The unprecedented success which crowned the Mir's efforts was as much due to his military ability, superb strategy and skilful diplomacy, as to the internal weaknesses in the rump of Vijaynagar, then under two successive hopeless rulers, Venkata III and Sri Ranga III. The problems of the first have already been explained before. The second was also overwhelmed at first by stupendous internal difficulties, reflected in the nineteen days' delay in his succession, which were utilised by Golkonda. The King was not liked by an influential court party and by the Velugoti brothers of Kalahasti (Damarla Venkatadri or Venkata and Aiyappa), who were the virtual administrators of the country during the previous reign and these disaffected elements began to intrigue with Golkonda. Within his dwindling domain he was surrounded by vassals, changing colour like chameleons, now friends, now enemies, secret or open. Above all he was tossed by waves of foreign invasions from two sides, either singly or in unison.

3. Qutb Shahi set-back under Ghazi Ali

At the time of his departure from the Karnatak to the court, Mir Jumla left the command of the army to Ghazi Ali Beg. The Sultan now reinforced him by sending some officers like Saiyyad Muzaffar, Shah Ghaznafar Khan, son-in-law of Rustam-i-Zaman of Bijapur and others. The change in military command did not augur well for Golkonda.

Sri Ranga also endeavoured hard to turn the tables against Golkonda. This last scion of Vijaynagar, a masterful personality, recovered from the stunning blows of Mir Jumla. As a prince Sri Ranga had previously allied with the Bijapuri invaders against his own uncle. But now as the defender of the kingdom, he was determined to pursue a vigorous policy of checking the Muhammadans by focussing all Hindu forces in the south, and, if possible, by securing the assistance of the Dutch. For a time Ranga III was able to checkmate the hostile machinations in his court. He first wanted to crush Tirumala Nayak of Madura. But the latter organised a defensive league with the Nayaks of Tanjore and Jinji against their common sovereign whose only ally was Mysore. But the allies were betrayed by the Nayak of Tanjore. Sri Ranga struck the first blow and marched with a large force against the nearest rebel, the Nayak of Jinji. Thereupon Tirumala, 'swayed only by fury and desire for vengeance', and 'regardless of the claims of a larger patriotism' secretly corresponded with the Golkonda viceroy on the frontier to induce the Sultan to attack Vellore, Sri Ranga's capital, from the north. Sri Ranga had, therefore, to turn back from Jinji and, assisted by the rising power of the Nayak of Ikkeri on the west coast, compelled the invading and plundering Qutb Shahi force to raise the siege of Vellore and expelled it from his capital (1643-4). Damarla Venkatappa, suspected by Sri Ranga and dispossessed of part of his country, intrigued with and offered to assist Golkonda generals, but he was forestalled, and arrested on suspicion of treachery. The Royal also succeeded in fanning Adil Shah's jealousy at Mir Jumla's occupation of Udayagiri and securing the co-operation of Bijapuri generals by offering 15,00,000 pagodas and 15 elephants. With a Bijapuri force of 6000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, stationed in the Karnatak Balaghat, the Royal

advanced and 'dislodged' the Qutbshahis therefrom (January, 1644). He now adopted a strong attitude towards his nobles and, collecting a large sum of money from the nayaks of Jinji, Tanjore and Madura, paid Bijapur the price of support and sought to capture Arni from Jinji.

However, it was not easy for Sri Ranga to win continuous victories over his enemies, internal and external. At home Damarla Venkatappa had to be released and reinstated soon through the pressing military endeavour of Aiyappa Damarla, then still in power as well as of his relations. Besides there was also the military intervention of the Golkonda forces which occupied Venkatagiri.

About the beginning (or middle) of July 1644, the Qutb Shahi forces, being led by 'Casy Ali' (Ghazi Ali) occupied the towns near Pulicat without opposition, and advancing within 3 miles of it demanded its surrender from the Dutch, agreeing to allow them to retain their privileges. The English factors apprehended an attack on Fort St. George also. But the Muhammadans could not occupy the well-fortified Dutch settlement of Pulicat from its commandant, Heussen. Although the rebellious Nayak of Jinji, planning to attack the Rayal from the rear, advanced to join Ghazi Ali, the Rayal sought to win Jinji and recalled the Hindu general, Kistappa Nayak, from operations there and restored Chinnana (Mallaiya) to power. Kistappa along with Velugoti Singa surprised and routed the Muhammadans on the bank of Vengallu tank (21 Aug, 1644), killed their commanders and some leading men, and drove them beyond Armagon, up to Udayagiri (September, 1644). Mir Jumla's hard work in the region was undone.⁶

4. Second Deputation of Mir Jumla to the Karnatak

Thus so far Golkonda's attempts to gain a substantial footing in the Eastern Karnatak ended in smoke. It is clear that the Golkonda forces suffered a temporary setback during the officiating command of Ghazi Ali Beg consequent on the absence of Mir Muhammad. For a time Golkonda was so stunned by the blow inflicted by the Rayal on its military machine that any resumption of an offensive was out of the question.

Hence Qutb Shah not only undertook to Bijapur to desist from making any territorial claims on conquests and to make contributions in money and men to hold the Karnatak. About the end of 1644 and beginning of 1645, he had even to abruptly terminate the war with the Rayal, who, preoccupied with his rebellious vassals, sought his help and made an agreement with the Sultan. But the Qutbshahi menace did not disappear. Its momentum was soon redoubled, when the Nayaks sought help from the two Sultans and Mir Muhammad (now Mir Jumla) was deputed by the Sultan for the second time to the scene of his recent victories.

The moment chosen was highly opportune. Karnatak was then 'full of wars and troubles'. The Rayal's hands were overfull. He was engaged in a war with the Dutch, as they were apparently trying to reconcile Golkonda, and the fortified Dutch settlement of Pulicat had been besieged by his forces from 12th August 1645. There was also a civil war between the Rayal on the one hand and three Nayaks of Tanjore, Madura and Sinsider (Jinji) on the other; and the Nayaks had inflicted a severe defeat on the Rayal's forces in December 1645. Consequently the latter could only despatch a contingent of 4000 soldiers to prevent ingress and egress of provisions and war materials, in effect to blockade the fort of Pulicat.⁶ A parallel wave of invasion from Bijapur not only added to his cup of difficulties but buttressed that from Golkonda. Early in 1646 the Adil Shahi general, Muzaffaruddin Khan Muhammad, Khan-i-Khanan, captured Nandiyal in the Kurual district and 8 other strong forts of that region, and then, advancing from the west (autumn of 1646), gained a rapid succession of victories in the Karnatak Balaghat. The shrewd English factors truly gauged the situation when they observed that the Muhammadans were then 'gathering ahead again'.⁷

At this well-chosen moment Mir Jumla came at the head of a well-organised, well-equipped and efficient army, strengthened by several European gunners and cannon founders, to 'oppose' the Rayal and attack his territories from the north and east.⁸ The Rayal had placed Mallaiya (Chinnana), succeeding Damarla as governor of the region, in command of an army of 50,000 'to keep the Moors from intrenching on this kings country'. The latter was obliged, as a result of Golkonda's

attack, to withdraw the bulk of his troops then investing Pulicat (3000 out of 4000). As only one thousand soldiers were now left in its siege, the Dutch, ignoring them, made a 'vigorous sortie', but were repulsed with some loss. So the war against the Dutch continued, and without the payment of 60,000 rials of eight, the king would not hear of any peace negotiations.

The success of the Rayal against the Dutch was soon neutralised by his suffering serious reverses at the hands of Mir Jumla. Crossing the Krishna, he reached Kambam in Kurnool district in five weeks' time, attacked the principality of Erragondapalem, and captured the strong fortress of Daddanala. Its Nayak was killed, but Mir Jumla, out of considerations of sound policy, restored his estates to his sons in return of payment of 5,00,000 pagodas immediately and 1,00,000 pagodas every year. In particular, the Mir regained Udayagiri, the famous fortress-capital of the eastern portion of the Rayal's kingdom. According to the English records it was between January 21 and February 10, 1646 that the Muhammadan general captured three of the Rayal's castles of which one was the 'strongest hold (hold) in the kingdom'. Udayagiri was lost through treachery. The Mir won over Mallaiya, its commander-in-chief, to whom the Rayal had entrusted the task of defending the country and who had repulsed the Dutch sortie at Pulicat. Notwithstanding his 50,000 strong army, the latter treacherously surrendered Udayagiri to the Mir, 'upon composition for himself and all his people to go away free'.

After regaining Udayagiri Mir Jumla advanced westwards and captured six forts of Cittivelli principality (in Cuddapah dt.). Its ruling Matli chief, Kumar Ananta (II) not only lost territory but had to pay a heavy indemnity.⁹

5. Partition Agreement between Bijapur and Golkonda

In the scramble between the two Deccani Sultanates over the possession of the Kingdom of the Karnatak, the Mughal emperor Shahjahan played a significant but sinister game during a period of almost quarter of a century following the conquest of Ahmadnagar. It sprang not from the direct appli-

cation of military might of the empire for further extension of Mughal dominion in the Deccan but from the indirect and clever use of diplomacy on the two sultanates. This took the form of the *Inqiyadnama* (Deed of Submission) or '*Ahdnama* or *Ta'ahhudnama* (Agreement), also somewhat loosely called Partition Treaties of April-May 1636, resting on its two pillars of the terror-tactics of the Mughals and the fear-complex of the Sultanates. The two states lost their independence in conducting their foreign policy which became subject to imperial dictation. In other words they could not carry on any important military campaign without imperial consent or connivance. Thus, these partition treaties not only barred the sultanates from any north-ward expansion but turned their activities to the south at the cost of the rich territories of the Hindu King of Vijaynagar, distracted by internal quarrels between the Royal and his *nayaks*.

Evidence of the Mughal abetment of Bijapur and Golkonda in their conquest of the Karnatak, western and eastern, lies scattered in contemporary sources. Of course Mughal histories would not admit or refer to this. But to the contemporary victims of aggression in the Karnatak the Mughal emperor appeared in this light, though it must be admitted that there is a confusion in the Telugu sources between emperor Shahjahan and 'Alamgir' then Mughal viceroy in the Deccan. Thus the *Gandikota Kaifiyat* records that Golkonda undertook the conquest of the Karnatak at the instance of the Mughal emperor : 'Mir Jumla' a Wazir of the Padshah, came to the south on behalf of 'Alamgir padshah ...'^a There is also an epigraphic confirmation of this view of Mughal intervention. A copper-plate grant, discovered in Guti *taluga* refers to the occupation of the Karnatak and Guti by the Nawabu of Golkonda (i.e. Mir Jumla) on behalf of the 'Pachchayi' (i.e. Padshah or the Mughal emperor).^b

The sources relating to the Qutb Shahi aggressor also point to the same view, viz., that it was the gloved but mailed finger of the Mughal emperor that was directing the armed show of the sultanates on the Karnatak stage. The abject letters of Abdullah Qutb Shah to Emperor Shahjahan would also prove that :

- (i) the former even agreed to pay the emperor 2/3rds of the booty from the 'Rajal of Karnatak' ;
- (ii) the officers appointed by the emperor to partition the territory between Bijapur and Golkonda, treacherously allied with the Rajal and his *nayaks*.

Further Qutb Shah petitioned (*arzdashi*) to the crown-prince, Dara as his perpetual *murid* (disciple), seeking his intervention, with the emperor for a fair apportionment of the Karnatak spoils.

This view of the efforts of the two Sultanates to conquer the Karnatak gets a categorical confirmation from Dutch sources that the Emperor really 'commanded' the two Sultans 'to conquer and partition the Karnatak between themselves'.¹⁰

When the flood-gates of the invasions of the Karnatak were thus opened by the imperial controller, the unhappy Rajal sought to save himself at times by seeking armed support of one of the sultans against the other in return for money, elephants and other presents. And this was not difficult to obtain, because of the deep-seated mutual jealousy of the sultanates. Naturally the momentum of the Islamic steam-roller was slowed down at times. Soon it became quite clear to the two sultans that the conquest of the Karnatak could never be achieved and 'the tree of the infidels' could never be 'rooted out' except through their mutual co-operation. Adil Shah realised that 'without Qutb Shah's help, a successful war with the Rajal was not possible and so he had agreed with Qutb Shah to partition the Karnatak and he was making him co-sharer in the destruction of the Rajal and other *zamindars*.' Hence they made (c. March-April, 1646) a mutual agreement by which the territory, spoils of war, goods, jewels and cash of Sri Ranga Rajal, the legal ruler of Hindu Karnatak, were to be amicably partitioned between Bijapur and Golkonda in the proportion of two to one, 2/3rds falling to Adil Shah and 1/3rd to Qutb Shah.^{10a}

The immediate results of the partition-agreement proved highly satisfactory to the Muhammadan Sultanates. The victorious progress of the Adil Shahi Wazir, Nawab Mustafa Khan, in the Kanarese country, came to be paralleled by the successes of the Qutb Shahi Wazir, Mir Jumla, in the Eastern

Karnatak. In June 1646 the Bijapuri general, advanced to Malnad and came to be joined by several Nayaks (viz. of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji), *desais* and others in the Bangalore district. Thereafter he started for Vellore, being the seat of the Rayal, and directed Khan Muhammad, then in Kurnool, to follow him. The situation was, indeed, highly critical for Sri Ranga. The *maniwars* (i.e., nayaks) of Madura, Jinji and Tanjore, who had once been his vassals, had now rebelled against him, and were intriguing with Mustafa Khan by sending their *wakils* with professions of submission to Adil Shah. Highly alarmed, the Rayal immediately attacked the rebellious Nayaks with 10,000 to 12,000 cavalry and 3 lakhs of infantry and 100 elephants, so as to frighten them to restore allegiance. Rup Nayak of Jinji submitted but Vijayaraghava of Tanjore and Tirumala of Madura, who controlled hundreds of mines of jewels and the port of Kahlpatam (Kayalpatnam) persisted in the war against the Rayal. To forestall their junction with Mustafa and induce the latter to desist from invading his own territories, the Rayal sent his Brahmin *guru* and envoy, Venkanna Somayaji (Somaji) to the Nawab with peace offerings. But Mustafa, refusing 'to be dissuaded from his purpose by the deceitful words of the Rayal's envoy', hastened towards the pass of Kanwi, near Vellore. Somaji, professing to follow the Nawab's peace conditions (i.e., to induce the Rayal to withdraw from the war with the Nayaks and return to Vellore), came back to Vellore, but advised the Rayal to prepare for war. Mustafa Khan then decided first to conquer the Jagdev country.¹¹

About the same time Nawab Mir Jumla, after the recapture of Udayagiri, became busy overrunning the entire East Coast, south of Nellore and occupying the territory round Fort St. George. Tondamanad, Tirupati and Chandragiri in North Arcot district were captured before April, 1646. When, on 11th December, 1646, Mir Jumla began encircling Pulicat, the Dutch opened negotiations, professing submission. He entered the fort and was highly impressed with the strength of its fortifications. After protracted negotiations, during which war seemed imminent, he agreed to the terms of the *qaulnama* of the Dutch with the Rayal, ratified the arrangements for peace and appointed Muhammad Qasim Mazandarani as *thanadar* of that

place. He took over the government not only of Pulicat but of San Thome as well, 'setting the country all in order', as he proceeded, and making quick headway against the Hindu power. From Pulicat the Mir advanced, burning and plundering the land, leaving a trail of terror among the fleeing populace, or cowing some nobles into siding with him. Ponneri, Poonamalee, Kanchi (Conjeeveram) and Chingleput ('which in strength and impregnability was equal to the seventh heaven'), fell one by one, before his irresistible march. It was reported (letter of January 4, 1647) that Mir Jumla was only within two days' march of the king's court (Vellore), nobody opposing him as a severe famine had depopulated the country.¹²

The subsequent siege of Vellore, following the decisive defeat of the Hindu general, Vailuar, thus seems to have been conducted by the combined strength of the Bijapuris and the Qutb Shahis. The Rayal submitted, promising the payment of 50 lakhs of *huns* and 150 elephants as war indemnity (c. April, 1647), but Bijapur's appropriation of the entire amount proved to be a cause of its discord with Qutb Shah. The rebellious Nayaks were now sobered into restoring their allegiance to the Rayal, and promised to assist him in maintaining the independence of the country. But it was too late now. Disunion among the Nayaks caused their weakness. Those of Tanjore and Jinji were so weak that they could not think of offering any resistance. The combined armies of Mysore and Madura, helped by Mustafa Khan of Bijapur, made a half-hearted stand but failed at Wandiwash before Mir Jumla, strengthened by the adhesion of some Hindu nobles like the Velugoti chiefs.¹³

In June 1647, the English presented him with a brass gun and had their privileges confirmed in return. In October their factors reported that the general of the King of Golkonda had 'almost conquered this kingdom' and begun to reign 'as king under the title of Annabob' (Nawab).¹⁴

6. Jinji

After securing the allegiance of the English in Madras, Mir Jumla led the advancing Qutb Shahi troops from the

north towards Jinji during the winter of 1647-48. The Nayak of Tanjore, 'fearful of the near approach of so redoubtable a foe', threw himself at his mercy and made a treaty with him. Mir Jumla's plan was probably to attack Jinji from the north, east and south. He conquered Tandivanam in the country of Tanjore together with Asiur (? Aliyur) in South Arcot district.¹⁵ Tirumala Nayak of Madura, once betrayed by the Nayak of Tanjore, and harbouring a mortal revenge against him, now appealed to Adil Shah for help by sending his ambassadors. Adil Shah also wanted to invade Jinji, the Nayak of which appeared to have now sought Golkonda's assistance in self-defence. Thus Qutb Shah wrote to Shah Jahan that the *Zamindars* of Jinji and Tanjore had solicited and got his protection. To Adil Shah this united front appeared foreboding. He came to know of these troublesome machinations of Mir Jumla with the Nayaks of Jinji and Tanjore directed against himself, and being mightily angry, swore vengeance on Qutb Shah. To chastise him, Muzaffaruddin Khan Muhammad, Khan-i-Khanan, was called to the court and ordered to plunder the country of Golkonda and raze its forts to dust. But his march was delayed, as Hakim Muhammad Husain, envoy of Shahjahan, represented before Adil Shah that Mir Jumla was only acting on the orders of Qutb Shah and that he (envoy) would see that the latter should be made to give adequate compensation. Thereupon Qutb Shah prayed to Shahjahan for enforcing the 1/3 : 2/3 division of the *ahdnamah* and despatched *peshkash* and presents to Adil Shah, without any further delay.¹⁶

But evidently this did not satisfy Adil Shah for on 10th January, 1648, he commissioned Mustafa Khan from Kulbarga, to conduct, together with Tirumala Nayak, the siege of Jinji. In this, 'his last and greatest campaign'. Mustafa Khan advanced through Jagdev country with 17,000 horse and 20-30,000 foot which were combined with Tirumala's 30,000 soldiers of the 'ill armed militia type'. Probably these menacing developments obliged Mir Jumla to return to Conjeeveram during the rainy season of March, 1648. But he succeeded in forestalling the combined forces of the Nayaks of Madura and Mysore and an Adil Shahi contingent heading for Wandiwash.

Strengthened by the adhesion of some Hindu nobles like the Velugoti chiefs and supported by his formidable artillery, Mir Jumla occupied it himself and reached Jinji even before Mustafa, so as to prevent its capture by the Bijapuris.^{16a} Zahuri the Bijapuri historian, naturally writes that Mir Jumla 'wanted to create some disturbance'. The Raja of Jinji, in pursuance of his promises, came out of the fort to see Mir Jumla and reiterated the agreement not to prove disloyal. When only 10 miles intervened between the two Muhammadan armies, the Raja, with a well-equipped army encamped 2 miles ahead of Mir Jumla. But the latter too advanced with his army, and joined the Raja then 8 miles distant from Mustafa's. The latter, considering the combined strength of his and Madura troops to be inadequate to meet the hostile coalition of Mir Jumla and the Karnatak rajas, did not mobilise and appealed to Sultan Adil Shah for reinforcements. It was expected that the latter would send Ikhlas Khan (Khan Muhammad Khan-i-Khanan), together with 7 to 8,000 cavalry, Rustam-i-Zaman, Afzal Khan and other renowned wazirs and amirs. On the other hand, Qutb Shah, who regarded the despatch of Mustafa Khan 'to extricate' Jinji and Tanjore from his hands as a violation of the agreement, and had made many representations to Mir Muhammad Tahir, appealed to Shahjahan and instructed Mir Jumla to await favourable imperial orders, of which he was confident.¹⁷

The two armies thus remained face to face without any engagement. A clash between them in which alone lay the hope of salvation of Jinji now seemed inevitable. However, the delay in the arrival of reinforcements, coupled with internal quarrels in the Adil Shahi army and Mir Jumla's promptness in securing the allegiance of many Bijapuri braves led Mustafa to think of negotiating with the Qutb-Shahi general. The latter, too, learning of the impending arrival of the Adil Shahi reinforcements, thought it prudent to negotiate for peace.

But the rift, which thus manifested itself over the race for possession of Jinji, widened gradually with the passage of time. For the moment, it was temporarily bridged over by a formal agreement of peace, a treaty or contract between the two generals,

who were led 'to ignore other points of view' on account of the 'community of faith'. It was settled that after the conquest of Jinji, Mustafa Khan would remain there and Mir Jumla would stay at Gandikota. Both became sharers in every way. Each promised to help the other. The Khān-i-Khanan returned half way and halted at Raichur, while Mustafa conquered the forts of Changam and Trinomai, advanced towards Jinji, and besieged it. Mir Jumla returned to his camp at Swarigonta, a dependency of Vellore, and 30 miles (5 gaos) from Jinji, from where he had been governing, on Qutb Shah's behalf, a part of the territory on that side that had come into the latter's possession.¹⁸

The death of Mustafa Khan (Thursday 3rd Ziqad, 1058/9th November, 1648), subjected the partition to fresh strain. Before the arrival of his permanent successor, Khan Muhammad, then busy in conquering Tadpatri from Nandiyal, the siege of Jinji was entrusted for sometime to Malik Raihan, who made a good arrangement of the army by paying 2500 *huns* to the soldiers as salary and directed the siege operations vigorously. This was regarded by Mir Jumla as a favourable opportunity for realising his ambitions and occupying Jinji himself. He thought that with Mustafa Khan dead, his army scattered, Khairat Khan dead, and Shahji caught in the net of mental depression and despair, Malik Raihan alone would not be able to resist him and would probably raise the siege. But Malik Raihan sent a strong and effective remonstrance to Mir Jumla : 'Your stay so near (the fort)', he wrote, 'is prejudicial to (our interests). Its inhabitants are expecting your help. It would be better if you go away to a distance. The control of Adil Shahi troops is not in my hands. If anything untoward happens, I will not be responsible. Mustafa Khan may be dead, but I am alive ; and I will fight to the last.' At this strong attitude of Malik Raihan Mir Jumla, 'not finding any remedy except silence', and possibly apprehending danger from the impending arrival of Khan Muhammad, went away to a distance, halted at Rachootee, 42 miles distant from Vellore and resumed his conquests further north in the Cuddapah district. Khan Muhammad arrived from Tadpatri to Jinji in obedience to royal order and stiffened the rigour of the siege.¹⁹

But Mir Jumla could not but make another endeavour to capture Jinji. In the beginning he had already made an *entente* with its Nayak and now he endeavoured to incite him against Bijapur, inspite of the partition-agreement (of 1646) and the contract with Mustafa (1648). Zahur bin Zahuri, the official historian of Bijapur, complains that 'the ungrateful Abdullah—whose forces had been defeated by the Rayal and who could not have won an inch of the Karnatak without Bijapuri support,—had formed a secret alliance with the infidel (i.e., the Rayal) and sent his general, Mir Jumla, to assist the Hindus in the defence of Jinji and incite the Hindu rajas'. But Mir Jumla arrived too late with a formidable army at a distance of 2 *far-sakhs* to be able to render the promised help to the Raja. On hearing that the Khan-i-Khanan had conquered Jinji in a day, he became so alarmed that instead of redeeming his pledge, he fled away, irrespective of dishonour, towards Golkonda.²⁰

The fall of Jinji^{20a} was followed by the continued successful operations (1649-50) of the Bijapuri army against the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura and by the plunder and devastation of their territories including the seaboard round Tegnapatam. These Hindu princes now submitted, agreeing to pay tribute. Foster writes on the basis of the Dutch records: 'On the eastern side of India.....the Carnatic was still being harassed by the incursions of its Muhammadan foes, and by their constant discussions and conflicts. The forces of the king of Bijapur had conquered the whole of the district centring in the famous fortress of Gingee, including the seaboard round Tegnapatam of which Malaya was made Governor'. The unhappy Rayal took refuge with the Nayak of Mysore then at war with Bijapur. There is not the slightest exaggeration in the following observation of the Jesuit missionaries: "The Adil Shahi forces returned to Bijapur after conquering a vast country, subjugating two powerful kings and gathering treasure beyond calculation, without having had to fight one battle and almost without losing a single soldier."²¹

Qutb Shah sent a letter of congratulation to Adil Shah along with a present of 4 lakh *huns* and 4 jewels, for protection from the Mughals, on the occasion of the fall of Jinji. He suggested therein that the forts of Karnat and Malnad, still

unconquered by Adil Shah, might be allowed to be conquered by Qutb Shah for being used as suitable bases against enemy attacks. Adil Shah, too, agreed and thus the fort of Gandikota and the country of Kokkanur were left to be occupied by Qutb Shah.²² Thus we find that, though strained almost to the breaking-point, the principle of partition continued to work satisfactorily for a time.

7. Siddhout

The fall of Jinji (1648) and of Tanjore (1649) before the Bijapuris, and the flight of the Rayal to Mysore, foreshadowed the enslavement of a few remaining Hindu pockets by the Muhammadan Sultanates. While Bijapur was thus busy with fresh conquests in the south, Mir Jumla, 'as general of Golkonda forces was busy consolidating his position in the north.' If Bijapur sliced off the western Telugu and eastern Tamil rumps of the Vijayanagar oak in Penukonda and Basavapatan, Vellore, Jinji and Arni, Mir Jumla blazed forth in a trail of glory, conquering Siddhout, Gandikota and Gutti in the north and then south up to the eastern coast. It is extremely difficult to frame a definite sequence of these conquests on account of the discrepancies in Persian chronicles, Telugu, English and Dutch sources. However, the following tentative sequence of Mir Jumla's victories is based on a critical and comparative study of these with special reference to the dates given in Telugu sources, literary and epigraphic, and the geographical location of the places conquered by him.

Mir Jumla's next target was Siddhout in Cuddapah district. He had already occupied a part of Citteveli here after his recapture of Udayagiri in 1646. But another and fairly extensive slice of the district, forming a segment of the Balaghat Karnatak was still ruled by Anantaraja Devachoda Maharaja, the adopted son of Kumara Ananta II, the Matli Nayak with headquarters at Siddhavatam (Siddhout), east of Cuddapah. Telugu sources state that at first he offered battle and beheaded the two Muslim officers (*Sardars*) deputed by Mir Jumla along with a Brahman Bakhshi Triambaka Ravu (Trimbak Rao), who fled (Saka 1571 Vikriti or 1649-50). But on second thought the

ruler realised the futility of resistance and, after a consultation with his uncle Ellamaraja and important officers, escaped to Ikkeri Basavapuram in the west with his ladies and relations. Siddhout was thus conquered (c.1650), made a military base and entrusted to Trimbak Rao Sankarji Pant.^{22a}

8. Gandikota

The country round Gandikota and neighbouring towns in the modern Cuddapah and Anantapur districts of Madras then belonged to Timma Nayar [Pemmasani Cina (Chinna) of Telugu records, Timma Nayudu], a raja, subordinate to Vijaynagar, and to the Reddi, related to the famous line of the Reddi kings, and owing Jillala. Gandikota itself was a very important stronghold, commanding the valley of the Pennar. The fort or the fortified town of Gandikota, described by Tavernier as 'one of the strongest cities in the kingdom of Golkonda', stood on the summit of 'an inaccessible rock' of the Yerramalai mountains of the Cuddapah district at an elevation of 1670 feet above sea-level. The town was alongside the hill. Both the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda coveted it on account of its strategic importance. The latter had several times besieged it, but could not overpower its ruler.²³

Sometime after the Bijapuri annexation of Ikkeri (1047/1638-9), the fort of Gandikota had been besieged by Khan Muhammad and Malik Raihan, Ali Khudaband Khan, Khairat Khan and other Bijapuri Wazirs. But the siege had to be given up in pursuance of Adilshah's orders so as to reinforce the van (of Mustafa Khan, 1057/1648) led by Shahji Bhonsla and Asad Khan, when they were defeated by the Rayal's troops under Vilvuyar and Krishna Tupakki. Very probably, it was about this time that Bijapur captured Jillala and imprisoned the Reddi: but the latter escaped and reoccupied it, and with the help of Timma Nayar invaded 2 or 3 villages of Nandiyal. Khan Muhammad made a treaty with Timma Nayar, and the Reddi had to pay compensation for the villages, which he evidently retained.²⁴ But Bijapur continued to regard these places as lying within the ambit of its expansion till the partition agreement, by which Gandikota with its adj-

cent territory was allocated to Qutb Shah, who had to pay a heavy sum to Adil Shah (c. 1649).

Mir Jumla started from Golkonda for Gandikota in Saka 1571 Vikriti or A.D. 1650 together with a large and well-equipped force of cavalry, infantry, train of artillery and other war equipments and arrived near village Mailavaram in Jambulamadaka taluk. Access to the fort was difficult, the only means being a very narrow and hence difficult road, cut in the mountain, whose width ranges from 20 to 25 feet at some places to only 7 or 8 at others. According to Thevenot 'one must (in a manner) crawl up to come to it.' On its right there was 'a fearful precipice', with a large river running at its base. On the mountain there was a small plain (half a league by one-fourth league), sown with rice and millet and watered by many small springs. Tavernier describes the place as follows ; "At the level of the plain to the south, where the town was built on a point, the limits are formed by precipices, with two rivers which bound the point at the base ; so that, in order to enter the town there is but one gate on the plain side, and it is fortified in this direction with three good walls of cut stone, with the ditches at their bases faced with the same stone'. Hence the defenders had only to guard 'a space of 400 or 500 steps wide.' They possessed only 2 iron guns, one being a 12-pounder, placed on the gate (perhaps known as *Ramabanam*), the other being a 7-8-pounder placed on a bastion-like projection. The Raja of the place, Timma Nayar, was considered to be 'one of the best and bravest commanders' among the Hindu Rajas and he seemed to have been assisted by the Reddi. Disdainfully rejecting Mir Jumla's demand of surrender of the fort, which was so well-provisioned as to withhold a siege of 12 years, the Raja preferred war. At first the vigorous sorties, sallies and cannonade by the defenders took a fairly heavy toll of the besiegers, estimated at not less than 3000. So Mir Jumla had to shift his camp by retreating a little to Gudemcheruvu and Goriganuru. It seems that the final capture of the fort was effected not by dint of arms as is generally believed on the testimony of Tavernier but by means of Mir Jumla's stratagem or trickery as pointed out by Thevenot who actually visited Golkonda during the reign of Abdullah and hinted in the Telugu sources. Tavernier says that Mir

Jumla ultimately realised the necessity of carrying the guns up to the heights. This he did by seducing the Raja's Frank gunners, to each of whom he promised '4 months' wages more than their ordinary pay'. With the four guns thus mounted, the fort was bombarded, and even the gun on the gate was 'rendered useless' by a direct hit. When half the gate of the town was battered down, the defenders capitulated, evacuating the fort under honourable conditions. Tavernier ascribes Mir Jumla's success at Gandikota to 'the aid of some Frenchmen who had quitted the Dutch service', on account of bad treatment ; but he also refers to the 'great' assistance rendered to Mir Jumla by many English and Dutch gunners with 2 or 3 Italians. Telugu sources, however, assert that when even a close investment of the fort for several days proved ineffective Mir Jumla tricked Timma Nayar into vacating the fort by a proposal to exchange it for Guti fort. The details given in the *Kaifiyat* may be wrong but its suggestion of the diplomatic trick seems to have been supported by Thevenot : 'Mir Gemla being unable to force it, made use of his cunning and money and so managed those (whom the Naique sent to him to negotiate a Peace), that he wheedled out the governor, under pretext of entering into a league with him for great Designs ; but no sooner was he come to the place of meeting, but the Omra made sure of his person, contrary to the Promise he had given, and kept him constantly with him till he put him in possession of Guendicot.'" Even Tavernier's account corroborates Thevenot's reference to Mir Jumla's use of bribery.²⁵

The capture of this rock fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable, has been regarded as the 'crowning feat' of Mir Jumla in the Karnatak.²⁶

The account of the Bijapuri official historian, Zahur, is clearly biased and it minimises the importance of Mir Jumla's victory. According to him, "the raja of the fort, being proud of his wealth and numerical strength of his army, underrated the danger of the invasion and looked down upon Mir Jumla's soliders, as 'a mirage in the desert', and though he began the encounter, he did not consider it necessary to emerge out of the fort. Mir Jumla strained himself to encircle it. The raja could have been successful, but he was shaken by awe of Adil Shah, as the

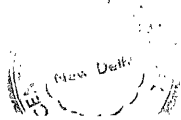
pulse of the patient throbs under the hold of the physician ; and, considering that the defeat of Mir Jumla would be of no avail, in face of subsequent retaliation and extermination of all neighbouring rajas by Adil Shah, and having regard to his own welfare, deemed obedience to Sultan's orders expedient. In these circumstances he left the fort and Mir Jumla captured it."

For his victory Mir Jumla was honoured by the present of a *Nauroz-i-Khilat* by Qutb Shah. He now petitioned to the Sultan for permission to go to Mecca, as before the expedition Qutb Shah had promised it to him as a reward for his feat, and also as he was then 'middle-aged and showing signs of debility and exhaustion and illness (*shikastgi*) and he had lost the necessary energy to look to wordly affairs and also to gather something for the next world.' In fact Mir Jumla required some rest to recuperate his health after the arduous strain of the past five years. An illness for about 20 days accompanied by painful vomiting and inability to take food or to sleep greatly affected his health, made him very weak and necessitated a standing treatment.²⁷

9. Post-Gandikota Conquests

From Gandikota Mir Jumla seemed to have first turned 60 miles north-west and conquered Guti (or Gutti), situated in the Anantapur district. The exact date of its capture is not definitely known. According to Permadoor Memoir it fell in A.D. 1646. But a Telugu inscription of Saka 1572 (A.D. 1650) refers to its being ruled by Mir Jumla ('Hajarati Nababu' entitled Rajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara), while Tavernier visiting him in Gandikota in 1652 speaks of him as the owner of the diamond mines of Vajrakarur in Gutti taluka.²⁸

From Guti the victorious Qutb Shahi general perhaps turned via Rachootee in the south-east and occupied Gurrukonda south of it. Moving further in a south-easterly direction, Mir Jumla's captains penetrated as far as Chandragiri and Tirupati in North Arcot district. The granite rock fort of Chandragiri (c. 600 ft. above the valley) occupied a large space on the southern side of the Tirumalai hill, and was enclosed by strong walls originally built by the Yadavas (c. A.D. 1000), surround-



ed by a ditch. The Muslim conquerors erected a trumpery mud palace. On the 26th August 1652 (N.S.) when Tavernier halted at Tirupati he found 'several companies of military passing, some with handpikas, others with guns and others with sticks, who were going to join one of the principal captains of Mir Jumla's army, on a hill near Courua, where he had pitched his tent.....'. 'We set out.....', adds he, 'to salute him and found him in his tent with many nobles who were chiefs of the county, all being idolaters.'²⁹ Evidently Mir Jumla's captain was settling military and political affairs of the locality with the Hindu Rajas.

10. War over the Partition of the Karnatak

Thus it appears that the partition scheme worked to the disadvantage of the Raja of Chandragiri, and apparently more to the advantage of Qutb Shah than of Adil Shah,—at least Adil Shah thought it to be so. By its very nature the agreement turned out to be impermanent. The Deccan politics ran along too shifty a course to be harnessed into a definite channel; the mutual jealousies of the two partners were too deep-seated to be compromised in this way. Each side began to express distrust of its partner. During the siege of Jinji Abdullah wrote whining to the Emperor³⁰ that Adil Shah would not, according to his nature, follow the imperial order and would consider that 'the country of the Zamindars was more than 1/3 and 2/3'.

Hence Qutb Shah instructed his Delhi agent, Fasihuddin Muhammad, to appeal to the Emperor for appointment of two *amins*, one on behalf of Bijapur and another on behalf of Golkonda or pray to the Emperor for writing to Mir Muhammad Tahir (Aurangzeb's envoy at Golkonda), for settlement after due enquiries. Qutb Shah also appealed to the Emperor for sending an *amin* before the actual war (i.e., before the siege of Jinji), so that Adil Shah might not create any difficulty. In another letter to the Emperor Qutb Shah complained that Bijapur had violated the agreement, as already known to Islam Khan,³¹ and had 'outwardly and secretly' been trying to fan the flame of animosity as much as possible. Qutb Shah, therefore, proposed to the Emperor a modification of the terms of

the partition-agreement. (i) Regarding their respective shares in cash, jewels, elephants and other articles of plunder and whatever was seized by Adil Shah from the Rayal and the *nayaks*, Qutb Shah was willing to allow Bijapur to appropriate everything, but (ii) the Qutb Shahi conquests in the Karnatak were to be divided in the proportion of 1/2 : 1/2. But this modified agreement does not seem to have been sanctioned by the Emperor or ever followed by the Sultans. Qutb Shah further complained that, by taking advantage of the death of Islam Khan (Nov. 1647), who knew of the initial agreement, Adil Shah had sent many wazirs under Shahji to help the Hindus in the Karnatak, that the Rayal and other Zamindars invaded Golkonda dominions with their own troops, though Mir Jumla defeated the enemies and drove the Bijapuris to the frontiers of Bidar; that Adil Shah himself came to Bidar, the mutual frontier, and that he had broken his promise and was forcibly taking away Qutb Shah's portion of spoils. Adil Shah was also accused of overhastiness in getting his own share (2/3) and withhold'ng payment of Qutb Shah's share (not knowing that the latter had appealed to the Emperor) and even of having tried to take something more than his due. This is corroborated by the English records that after the siege of Vellore (1647), Bijapur got the entire indemnity.³²

Active hostilities between the two Deccani Sultans were not long to begin. The previous crack, caused by the struggle over the possession of Jinji, had only been papered over by the contract between Mustafa and Mir Jumla, but the feeling of jealousy was too fundamental to be effaced, and fresh causes of ill-feeling now arose. Khan Muhammad, the Bijapuri Wazir, made allegations against Golkonda of changed relationship. Adil Shah reported that Qutb Shah had conquered Gandikota 'against his order and without his knowledge'. He also complained that Mir Jumla, flushed with his newly-won victories, had turned hostile to Bijapur, without the knowledge of Qutb Shah. Zahur says: "After these two or three victories (due to misunderstanding) which were worse than a thousand defeats, Mir Jumla's actions cast slander on the good name of his master. The news of his evil deeds, committed against the orders of his own master, spread rapidly

in Adil Shah's dominions. The latter smiled at Qutb Shah's leaving the control of affairs [to such a dangerous man, and attributing it to his folly, forgave him for Mir Jumla's actions, of which he was unaware.' In fact, to the Bijapuri historian, Mir Jumla's crime was that he 'was creating disturbances in Malnad and Karnatak', forgetting that his recent conquests, specially that of Gandikota, were due to Adil Shah's sufferance. Further, Qutb Shah was accused by Bijapur of non-reciprocity of the kindness shown by Adil Shah, of violation of the agreement regarding the ownership of Jillala and two or three villages of Nandiyal and also of maltreatment of some messengers and spies of Bijapur, while the siege of Guti was regarded a cause of rupture of friendship with Golkonda.³³

On the other hand, Qutb Shah asked his envoy Mulla Abdus Samad at Delhi to represent to the Emperor that Adil Shah's accusations were false, that his objections to the capture of Gandikota were not justified as it was Qutb Shah's lawful share and that Adil Shah's constant complaints against Mir Jumla were encroachments on his personal honour. Countering Adil Shah's charge, Qutb Shah directed his envoy to explain to the Emperor that he had always shown due deference to Adil Shah and even instructed him to seek advice from the imperial court regarding his own future conduct. Further he levelled counter-charges against Adil Shah of abetting the 'nefarious activities' (*harkat nahanjar*) of Siddi Jauhar of Kurnool, e.g. the latter's invasion of Gandikota and Guti and their adjoining territories. To remedy this Qutb Shah even sought the mediation of his sister, the Bari Saheba (Queen of Adil Shah). Qutb Shah instructed his Bijapur envoy, Haji Nasira, to impress on the Sultan that Jauhar should be advised and if need be, threatened, he must be warned at any cost. He evidently regarded these signs of friction with Adil Shah to be highly prejudicial to their common interests, as these would embolden the powerful enemies, far and near, who were anxiously awaiting such events. He was in a fix and urgently exhorted his envoy at Bijapur, and also appealed to Khan Muhammad to endeavour to settle these matters amicably. Mir Jumla, on his part, also tried to clear up misunderstandings by writing letters to Khan Muhammad Ikhlas Khan and to Siddi Abdul Wahhab,

*Subahdar of Kurnool.*³⁴

Soon arose out of the clash of words a clash of arms between the erstwhile allies. This is referred to significantly in the Fort St. George letter of January 14, 1652. "Wars being commenced between the Moores of Golkondah and Vizapore, who, having shared this afflicted kingdom, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poor Gentue, (the Rayal) hoping their destructions, watches opportunity to break off his miserable yoke....."

Adil Shah sent Khan-i-Khanan Khan Muhammad against Mir Jumla to wrest the conquered forts from him. On his way to Gandikota, Khan Muhammad besieged the fort of Chandraguti, 4 *farsakhs* distant from it. The invaders fired at the gates of the fort, the defenders replying from the bastions. However, the Adil Shahi artillery-men took such a heavy toll on the defenders by their tremendous cannonade that 'Death seemed to be an eye-witness of the scene'. The Khan-i-Khanan then decided to abandon the siege in order to attack Mir Jumla at Gandikota and to raze all his houses and buildings to the ground.

Mir Jumla, having at his disposal immense wealth and a large army, including the Mughals, Afghans, Pathans and Rajputs whom he had collected after great efforts, and of whom he was proud, prepared to oppose him. He went round the fort and divided his troops in batches at different places. His trustworthy general, Muhammad Khan Lodi, known for his courage, was put in command of the van with a large following. He was met by Baji Ghorpare (of Mudhol), commanding the Bijapuri van. During the encounter, the Bijapuri lancers attacked Mir Jumla's forces from both sides and killed many by their pointed arrows. The Madras factors observed (letter of January 14, 1652): "In the interim many bickerings have been within two days' journey of this place, and it is reported that the Nabob with his army is besieged among the hills of Golkondah, whither he retired for the more safety, by the Vizaporis."

Muhammad Khan Lodi fell down under the feet of horses and his severed head was hurled in midst of Mir Jumla's troops, while many soldiers were also slain. Baji Ghorpare expelled

Mir Jumla from Gandikota, and its inhabitants fled away in consternation to mountains and jungles. The Bijapuri historian exultingly exclaims : 'Mir Jumlah, who was a powerful officer of Qutb Shah with a strong personality, unrivalled even by a crowned head, suffered defeat at the hands of an ordinary Wazir, Baji Ghorpare, and became scattered like dust thrown out of hand.' In such a humiliating situation Mir Jumla opened negotiations for peace with Khan Muhammad, through a *wakil* on the following terms : (i) an indemnity of two lakhs and fifty thousand *huns* was to be paid by him, several officers being detained as hostages till its complete realisation, (ii) the fort of Gandikota and the country of Kokkanur which Adil Shah had suffered Qutb Shah to conquer would be given to Mir Jumla, who was to be forgiven and whose life was to be spared.

Considering peace to be in the interest of Adil Shah, the victorious Khan duly welcomed and honoured Mir Jumla's *wakil*, and in forwarding his petition to the Sultan, recommended that these terms be accepted because the punishment of Mir Jumla and the destruction of the fort and of the Qutb Shahi army would mean the loss of the unlimited reserves of accumulated wealth of the fort. Adil Shah agreed to the terms of peace, concluded sometime between January 14 and February 12, 1652 : (i) Mir Jumla was 'restored to possession of his late conquests'—the fort of Gandikota and the country of Kokkanur ; (ii) Khan Muhammad got from him 5 lakhs and 50 thousand *huns* and 4 pieces of diamonds ('the like of which no jeweller had ever cast his eyes upon') which were sent to Adil Shah's court.³⁵

After defeating Mir Jumla the Bijapuri commander, Khan Muhammad, advanced to effect the conquest of Penukonda, the capital of the Karnatak uplands, and for a time encamped in the *Kasba* of Rud, 4 *farsakhs* from Penukonda. Though the sons of Siddi Raihan Sholapuri (whose guardian, Ambar Kala, was murdered according to the Sultan's orders), had rebelled in Sera, and had entered into a hostile league with the local rajas, especially the Raja of Mysore—who had captured the Jagdev country, conquered by Mustafa Khan, and had wrought 'revolutionary changes' (*ingilab*) in the Karnatak and Malnad, by means of his army of 400,000 soldiers and 40,000 elephants—Khan Muhammad refused to be distracted and pressed the siege

of Penukonda, the Raja's ancestral capital. The Raja begged for terms, ceded the fort (c. March, 1652) and removed to Kandarpi. Penukonda was named Takht-i-Mubarak.³⁶

There was, however, no immediate cessation of the war in the Karnatak. It continued as strenuously as ever. During Khan Muhammad's rest at court and consequent absence from the Karnatak, Sri Ranga Rayal recovered a portion of his lost dominions with the help of the Raja of Mysore. He also repulsed an invading Qutb Shahi force. To check the growing menace from Mysore, Khan Muhammad started from the Court, conquered the Jagdev country, captured the fort of Krishnagiri and besieged the fort of Mysore and ultimately occupied four forts of its raja.³⁷ Next, on his way to Jinji, the Bijapuri commander-in-chief solicited Mir Jumla's permission to pass through the districts, then under the control of the Golkonda troops. But this was refused by Mir Jumla. Alarmed at the rapid succession of the Bijapuris in the Pennar valley and particularly in Penukonda, which threatened the realisation of his own secret ambition of exclusive mastery in that part of the Karnatak, he was 'animating the Nayak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Raja'. The Nayak of Mysore joined the Bijapuri rebel, Siddi Raihan, and other Adil Shahi officers and regained the forts recently conquered by Mustafa. The Rayal, depending on Mir Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, with the hope of driving the Bijapuris out of the country. As Zahur bin Zahuri puts it : 'Adil Shah ordered that Sri Ranga had created trouble in the fort of Vellore and, through correspondence, made Mir Jumla his own *vakil* and for his own self, agreed to pay 50 lakhs huns and 45 elephants as *peshkash* to the Mughals. Mir Jumla had also taken this responsibility in this affair ; and he was tempting the Mughals by all means to help the Raja.'³⁸

Mir Jumla's diplomacy compelled a change in Bijapur's strategy. The Bijapuri general on the spot, Khan Muhammad, then returning to the court, had to turn back to deal with the Mysorean Nayak, who had to disgorge his recent morsel of Jagdeva country, the strong fortress of Krishnagiri and four other forts. The distant Sultan, Adil Shah, however, deemed it expedient to leave Mysore for the time being, to concentrate

his attention on Sri Ranga and conquer Vellore. So the Sultan, ordered Khan Muhammad to first attack the Rayal, who was trying to conquer the Vellore district with secret Qutb Shahi help and prevent his junction with Mir Jumla.³⁹ After a long siege, the Bijapuri general captured Vellore sometime before November 7, 1654. The Rayal was now forced to conclude a treaty with him, by which Chandragiri and the revenues of certain dependent districts, was left to the former. Chandragiri now formed the sole remnant of the great empire of Vijaynagar. The Rayal fled to the forests of the robber tribes situated north of Tanjore (Akal Nayak's wood). Abandoned by his courtiers, this 'King without a kingdom' lived there in great poverty and hardship; and finally he took refuge with the ruler of Mysore, who had once been his vassal.⁴⁰

The two rulers of Chandragiri and Mysore now invaded the tracts covered by the recent Golkonda conquests. But instead of helping the Rayal to recover his territories, Tirumala, the Nayak of Madura, begged Khan Muhammad to expel the invading Mysorean troops and by opening the mountain passes, enabled the Bijapur army to 'carry the war into Mysore'. From Atur, belonging to Madura, he plundered Mysore. Its raja sent Balaji Haibat Rao, late general of Bijapur, against Khan Muhammad. The latter in his turn, sent Siddi Masaud with the Van against Balaji. In the ensuing battle Balaji was defeated and ultimately beheaded. The Raja sued for pardon, promising a large annual tributes and was reinstated (1653). The Raja of Madura sent a befitting present, including cash, goods and 50 war elephants, to Khan Muhammad for curbing his enemy, the Raja of Mysore. Sri Ranga thus lost his last ally.⁴¹

By 1653 the last bastion of Hindu independence in the south was wiped out as much by its own internal weakness, dissensions and personal factors as by the combined momentum of the flood waters of two Muslim states, Bijapur and Golkonda, abetted by a third power, the imperial Mughals. Its rump, however, survived sometime longer in Mysore and Madura. In this process of annihilation of Vijaynagar a most significant role was played by the intrepid Ardistani, Mir Jumla, by virtue of his military efficiency and diplomatic skill alike.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Description based on IG, ix. 301-2; JAHRS X. 89-99; Wilks, *Mysore*, i. 5-10 and n (boundaries of the true historical Carnatic).

Gundert's derivation of the term 'Karnat' from Dravidian words *Kar* (black) and *nadu* (country), meaning the black country (cf. black cotton soil of S. Deccan), is accepted by Bishop Caldwell (*Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, 34-5).

Buchanan writes, "*Karnata* has been corrupted into Canara; The language and people of this *Desam* being called Karnataka, the Mussulmans, on conquering the peninsula, applied this name, changed into Carnatic, to the whole country subject to its princes, and talked of a Carnatic above the Ghats, and one below those mountains; although no part of this last division belonged to the *Karnata* of the Hindus. Europeans for a long time considered the country below the eastern Ghats as the proper Carnatic; and when going to leave *Dravida* and enter the real *Karnata*", they talked of going up from the Carnatic to Mysore, *Ibid*, 201. Buchanan also equated Karnat with Kanarese. *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*. ii. 183-190. iii. 90, 103, 201. The Karnataka country for the purpose of its history, has been taken to comprise that part of Dakshinapatha which extends from the Godavari in the north down to the Kaveri in the south, bordered on the west by the Arabian sea in the East extending approximately to 78 longitude. 'Karnata' was also used in a narrower sense to distinguish it from other portions of the country like Aparanta, Maharashtra, Vanavasi, Kuntala, Kalbappu, Dandaka, Konkana, Punnata Pannata, etc.

W S. Srikantha Sastri, *Sources of Karnataka History*, Vol. I. p vii.

Administratively, the term 'Carnatic' was, during the British period, restricted to the Bombay portion of the original Karnatak-Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, and part of N. Kanara together with the Native States of S. Maratha Agency and Kolhapur. The area was successively ruled by the Mauryas, the Andhras (Satvahanas) the Chalukyas, the Senavaras, the Pallavas, the Gangas, the Cholas, the Alupas, the Rastarakutas, the Santaras, the Kadambas - the Kalachuriyas, the Hoysalas, the Kakatiyas, and then Vijaynagar. See B.A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Ch. 3.

Sherwani states that the term 'Karnatak' applied to 'Mir Jumla' conquests, is a 'misnomer', QSD. 565n.

Wealth of the country : MN. 180-90 (diamond mines at Nandiya and 8 other forts); *Adab*, 46b (mangoes); Thevenot, 105 (provisions and towns); HS 9; *Aurangzib* i. 220; 22; HSh. 9.

For mineral resources and forest products in E. Karnatak (especially Red Sanders trees of N. Arcot, Cuddapah and Kurnool districts) and fragrant flowering trees (*Zedari* and *Koshari*) and conditions in modern times, NAM, chs. 1 & 4; SAM. pt. 2.

2. The period of partition-treaties almost synchronised with the period of the rise of Mir Jumla to power during 1634-36. See my articles, *Proc. IHC. Calcutta*. 1939; *Proc. IHRC. XIX*.

For *Bijapuri conquests* : *Persian* : MN. 155-188 (Pact between Bijapur and Rayal); BS (litho ed.), 316-18 (Adil Shah wanted to take title of Ghazi); *Makatib* 73b, 74b, 75b, 76a, (quoted by Sherwani);

Telugu : KV, 6, 30-34; KNV. 181-293: *Further*, i, 337-8, 341-7, 350 (Date of Pact between Sri Ranga III and Bijapur), 353; iii, 305-310;

EC. V. Intro. XXXV;

Dutch : Macleod, ii, 170, 173, 176;

French : Thevenot, 92 (king of Bijapur most powerful prince in the Deccan and hence called King of the Deccan);

Aurangzib, i, 190-2, 228-9; HSh, 13-16; HG. ff; 154; NM. 20 ff, 129-36; JIH. IX. 181 ff; HTI, II. ch. 17, 18; Sherwani, QSD. 440. 451-55;

Randaula was accompanied by Malik Raihan, who started leaving. Siddi Ambar Kala as his assistant at Sholapur, BS. 317. After conquest of Ikkeri, Malik Raihan gave up charge of Sholapur and it was put under Hasan Rumi Khan (*ibid*, 318). The Mughals conquered Daulatabad in 1634. Sera, placed under Shahji, became the capital of the Bijapur Carnatic Balaghat then formed for the first time (1644). Col. Mackenzis in JASB XIII (1844), 422-39.

Vijaynagar : For Venkata and Sri Ranga, son of Cina Venkata, younger brother of Venkata, *Further*, i, 342, 347, 369. Owing to the steady Muhammadan pressure after 1565 the Kings of Vijaynagar had to constantly change their capitals farther away towards southeast, Anegundi, Penukonda (in Anantapur dt.), Chandragiri, and Vellore (in N. Arcot). Sri Ranga Rayal lived at Vellore, NAM, p. 137-154, Pate, *Tinnevely Gaz.* 62.

Mysore : independent, c. 1610. Col. Mackenzie, JASB. XIII. 1844, 429, 431; Thevenot (1686 ed); 105.

Nayaks: Jinji, see MN. 286. Jinji and Tanjore followed the example of Madura, independent under Tirumala (1623-59), Srinivasachari, HG.

Hemingway, Tanjore Gaz. 34-40, description of taluqa, 261-280; *Aurangzib* : Vols. I & II, 32-35, 190-2, 228-229; HSh, 6-7, 12-13; NAM, 24-25.

3. Waris 102a, b; Mackenzie in JASB XIII (1844), 439; EF1 VII 1642-5), 193-4 and n.

4. Account based on MN, BS. and HS (dakchowki); SVH, 314; KNV. 6. 48-51; *Further* i, 347 (1400 foot, advance up to Armagon in South Nellore dt.), 348-9, 351-2 (Qutbshahis driven up to Kandukur in north of Nellore dt.); Macleod, ii, 176-7, 180, 182, 394, 400; EFI. IV (1630-33), 204 (civil war and anarchy); VII (1642-5), 44-5, 76, 80, 115-6, 144-5; VIII (1646-50). 25-6; Pr. IHRC (Dec. 1938), 23, 25; Srinivasachari, HM; Sherwani, QSD. 455-6.

The Bijapuris "having already established a regular government in the centre of the Carnatic, would find less difficulty in extending their possessions in that quarter, while the Golkonda State naturally, turned its views towards the S.E. quarter, and the sea coast, till at least, they came in mutual collision. Col. Mackenzie in JASB XIII (1844), 431.

According to a Pulicat letter to the Commander of Dutch fleet off Goa (Hague Transcripts. Ser. I. Vol. XII, 402), Venkatapati, the ruler of the Karnatak, died of fever lasting for 5 or 6 days on October 10, 1642.

(N.S.) and his body was burnt on Oct. 12 at Narrewarom (Narayanavanam, 50 m. w. of Pulicat).

5. *Further*, i. 348; Sherwani, QSD. 457-8.

6. Ghazi Ali, HISI. 278-9; *Further* i. 351-2; Sherwani; QSD. 457-58 based on HS; Activities of Sri Ranga and relations with the Dutch, BDR 1643-4, p. 244 in EFI VII (1642-5), 63,80, 81n; Pr. IHRC. XV (1938), 24-26. Hague Transcripts. Series I. Vol. XIV, 431 and BDR 1644-45, 325 in EFI. VII (1642-5), 81n, 44-5, 193-4 & n, Fort St. George letter of Sept. 8, 1644; Macleod, 176-77; Report of Dutch Govt. of Pulicat, Gardenijs (15 July), returning to Pulicat from Masulipatam; *Mission* iii, 42-3. *Further*, i. 349; Macleod, 177.

The English now sought the Rayal's confirmation of the grant of Chandragiri made by the Damarla brothers. (Fort St. George letter 25 Aug., 1643). EFI. *Op. cit.* 115-6; Pr. IHRC. XV, 26.

For the *Nayaks*, the founder of the Nayaks of Madura was a Vijaynagar general posted there (1558). Tirumala (1623-59) was a feudatory but wanted to free himself from its yoke. *Mission* III. 42-43; HG. 157-9, 162-3; HM; HSh. 20-21; SAM, 4-5 (wrong date, account different); *Tinnevely Gaz.* 62-63 (strengthening fort of Tirichinopoly); *Tanjore Gaz.* 40-*Trichinopoly Gaz.* 53 (date wrong).

Udaygiri : *Further*, i. 351, 357; EFI. VII (1642-5), 115-6.

7. Sudden cessation of war, *Further*, i. 352-3. Letters of January 21, 1646 and February 10, 1646. EFI. VIII (1646-50), 24-6, XXV, A diary kept at Pulicat found among Hague Transcripts. I O. series. I. XV. no. 484. Ibid. 25n; Love I. 73, 76. Anthony Proenza to Nikel (Trichinopoly), 1659, *Mission*, III. 41-42; Love I. 73.

Khan Muhammad, MN. 244-50 (gives date as 1645). *Further*, i. 352.

8. Sarkar *Aurangzib* I. 193-4; EFI. VIII (1646-50), XXV. Bernier says the Vizier had found a pretext for the invasion of the Karnatak. He uses the epithet 'La Royauma de Karnates'. The northern limit of the country was then at Bidar and it embraced the Kanarese speaking people of S. India (Constable 17 & n).

9. HISI, 289; EFI. VIII. 25-6 & n; HT. *op. cit.* (for a Dutch account of the Skirmish, Dec. 26); Love I. 73, 192, Sherwani, QSD. 457-8.

In the above Dutch document, this fort is called Oudegiers (Udayagiri). Foster thinks it improbable that it could be Udayagiri (79° 21' E, 14° 65' N) in Nellore dt. at this would be too far north. But Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies it with the above. Pr. IHRC. XV. (1938), 27; It was the biggest of all the forts of Vijaynagar, and very high and its circumference was 6 farsakh. HA. 226; HG. 164.

Mir Jumla's advance to Udayagiri and beyond, *Further*, i. 352, 356-357, (history), 363; Macleod, ii. 182-4, 188; 394, 400; EFI. VII (1642-5), 193-4; VIII (1646-50), 25-6; Sherwani, QSD. 458 (date 1645 seems to be one year too early). He has specified with meticulous care the location of *forts in Cuddapah dt.*, now conquered by Mir. Jumla,

(i) Kalitur, (ii) Duvvur (Duvvuru) in Prodattur taluqa, (iii) Cennur (Chennuru) in Cuddapah taluqa, (iv) Budvel, headqrs. of a taluqa, (v) Poru mamilla in above taluqa, (vi) Kamalapuram, headqrs. of a taluqa,

9a. N. Venkataramanayya comments that this is a mistake as the Mir, *being* an officer of Qutb Shah, could not have come on behalf of 'Alamgir Padshah'. (YCV. 221). Sherwani, studying the incident in the background of the *Inqiyadnama* which had brought the foreign policy of the sultans under imperial control, rightly distinguishes between 'Padshah' (i.e. Qutb Shah) and Alamgir Padshah (i.e. Mughal emperor) and states that the Mir was acting under imperial order. The mistake, if any, is in describing Alamgir as Padshah. It was, perhaps, a natural one on the part of the Telugu author for Alamgir was then the 'Viceroy' of the Emperor.

9b. A.R.E. 1920-21, No. 10.

N. Vankataramanayya takes the word 'Pachchayi' to mean Abdullah Qutb Shah and not the Mughal Emperor (YCV, 225). But Sherwani, as explained above, rightly interprets the word 'Pachchayi' to mean the Emperor.

10. *Inqiyadnama* : Lahori, ii. 177-81; Aurangzib, i. 36; QSD. 436-7, 439, 451.

Telugu : N. Venkataramanayya in YCV. 221; Inscription No. 10. of 1920-21.

Qutb Shahi Sources : Araiz, in QSD. 439, 500n; *Makatib* (To Iran), in QSD. 440, 444, 563n.

Dutch Sources : Macleod ii, 118-90 in *Further* i. 353; QSD. 455, 566n.

10a. Tabrezi, 28a-b, 29a-b, 5a-7a, 21a-b, 19a-b; H. Sh. 25. Macleod, ii. 394. This enables us to understand why Thevenot (Ch 8, p. 102) says that Mir Jumla was the general of the Sultan of Golconda, who fought Vijaynagar 'in conjunction with the king of Vizianapur.'

For the date see App: A. Col. Mackenzie is wrong in placing the agreement in 1636, JASB XIII (1844), 331.

11. MN. 276-85, 286-327; *Further*, i. 253-5.

The Tamil word 'manjwar' means a Superintendent of revenue collection equivalent to Zamin'ar, used contemptuously for the Nayaks), Sarkar, *op. cit.* 300n. Crole, 143.

The coalition of the Nayaks had immense wealth, army, horses, elephants, second to none in the Karnatak. See MN. 28 (for details). Kahlpatan is evidently Kayalpatnam, where the Dutch built a factory towards the end of 1645. See N. Sastri, Tirumala Naik, the Portuguese and the Dutch, *Bengal, Past & Present*, Vol. LX. Pts. I & II, p. 38. For Kayalpatnam, see Pate, *Tinnevely Gaz.* 499-501; 215, 224, 236, 337, 322 : There is a tradition that the Muhammadan settlement here owes its origin to immigrants who came by sea from Arabia many centuries ago. *Ibid.* 98. The fort was famous for its pearl fisheries, and there was a long standing rivalry between the Muhammadans (who brought the experience of their pearl fisheries of the coast of Persia) and the Portuguese. *Ibid* 231-2.

The name of the Royal's Brahman guru, given in Muslim sources as Venkayya Somaji, has been corrected in the text on the basis of Telugu sources. *Further*, i. 357-8 (Strategy of Mustafa).

Jagdev country consists of the northern corner of the Salem district, the Kaveripatam or Krishnagiri taluk, and the adjacent part of the N. Arcot district. JMCM. iii, 459. Shahji takes a part in intrigues, regarded by Qutb Shah as violation of agreement, MN, 286-327; HSh. 16-19, 300n;

BPP. LX. Pts. I & II, 38; Burgese, *Chronology of Modern India*, 961. The Rayal (probably about 4 April, 1646) was compelled to take shelter in the woods of North Tanjore and sought asylum with the raja of Mysore, once his vassal. Garstin, *op. cit.*, 5; Crole, 143; Dates wrong in Hemingway, 40, Pate, 63.

12. For *North Arcot dt* : Tirupati (in Chittor dt. 13°38' N., 79°24'E), Ball. i.272; for Chandragiri (in Chittor dt. 13°35' N, 79°24'E), EC. vi. Intro p.24; SVH. 309; *Further*, i. 360; for *Fort St. George*, EFL. VIII (1646-50), 70, xxvii. 1656-60, p. 4.

For Pulicat, (Chingleput dt.) Tabrezi, 150b-151b (Date 12 Zikada, evidently of A.H. 1056); Qutb Shah's letter to the Captain of Pulicat, *Ibid*, 35b-36a; 69b-7Ca.

Description of Pulicat, properly Paliyanverakadu, i.e., the jungle of old mimosa trees. The town (n. of St. Thomas) lies at the southern extremity of an island which divides the sea from the large lagoon called the Pulicat Lake, C.37m. long and 3-11 broad. It is the site of the first Dutch settlement in India—the fort, Geldria, being built in 1609,—taken by British in 1781 and finally occupied by them in 1795. There used to be a considerable trade between this port and the Straits Settlements but this declined. According to Thevenot (1686 ed. 105), the factory here was one of the best they had in the Indies—owing to the trade in cotton cloths, stored in large warehouses. There were saltpetre refineries also, the saltpetre, being brought by the Dutch from Bengal and gunpowder was manufactured and then supplied to other factories. Saltpetre, sent to Europe, was, however, refined in Batavia. (Currency at Pulicat described).

The Moors regained San Thome (about 3m. S. of Fort St. George) from the Portuguese with the help of the Dutch in 1662. Lime was made of shells (as were brought from St. Michael in Normandy) burnt with hogs' dung. Thevenot, 105.

For *Wandiwash* : Mir Md. to a hajib of Aurangzeb Tabrezi 74a, Cox. NAM, 204-7.

For Chingleput (now dt. headqrs, Madras, 12°41' N, 80°1' E), Tabrezi, 69b-70; *Further*, 361; Love i. 79, 80; ASR. XXIII. 40; EC. *op. cit*; HM. 36-7; Pr. IHRC (1938) 27; Crole, 81-107, 227. Description of Chingleput (lit. Brick village)—It lies on the Trunk Road 36 m. s. w. of Madras and 1/2m. on the northern bank of the Palar. The fort, a Hindu work, was probably erected after 1565 when the Rayals held their court alternately here and Chandragiri. There is a stone-built tank to the west of the fort, and across the southern end of the large tank, called Timmaraja Kulam (named after Timma Raja, prime minister of K.D. Ray). The masonry (of the fort) is entirely formed of roughly-dressed stone, evidently known for the purpose, forming a marked contrast to Mussulman forts, such as Karanguli. 'It was', says Orme, 'and not without reason, esteemed by the natives a very stronghold. Its outline, exclusive of some irregular projections at the gateways is nearly a parallelogram, extending 400 yds. from north to south and 320 from east to west.' Inaccessible on 3 sides it was exposed to danger in south and so this side was the most strongly defended, by a deep ditch 60

ft. wide and a stone-wall 18 ft. high. In 1751 it was taken from Md. Ali by Chanda Saheb (Crole, 82-4).

San Thome and Chingleput marked the southernmost limit of Mir Jumla's advance. Sherwani's art. J.I.H., Dec., 1964.

Towards Vellore, EFI. VIII (1646-50), 70; XXVII (famine); Garstin, 5; NAM, 184.

13. Sri Ranga's general is called Vamlur in MN 317, 318, 322 and Vailur or Vailuar and Vamalar in the *Bosatin us Salatin* (litho ed. p. 320, 322). The *wao* is a mistake for *dal*. His name, according to Telugu sources, was Damarla, the family name of two brothers who had been dismissed by Sriranga before 1645; *Further*, i. 359; Macleod ii. 398 (see Pr. IHRC XV).

The fort of Vellore is "one of the most perfect specimens of military architecture to be found in S. India." An idea of its description and traditions connected with it and the temple within it may be formed from the following: "Vellore fort is believed by many to exhibit clear signs of having been laid out by Italian Engineers but according to local tradition it was built (13th c. according to tradition but c. mid- 14th c. according to inscription in Gudiyatam taluk temple of Malliambat) by one Bommi Reddi (Naidu), a native of Bhadrachalam on the banks of the Krishna. He and Timmi Naidu were the sons of one Yadama Naidu of that place (in the time of Raja Karikala Chola), MAM. 187-9, n. The Italian origin is doubtful.

Vellore, MN. *op. cit.*; *Further*, i. 361; Macleod, ii. 405; EFI. *op. cit.*; Tebrezi, ; Garstin, 5.

Date of siege of Vellore in Dutch Dag Register as April 4, 1647, accepted in *Further*, i. 359-60. But the date adopted in the text (1647) is based on MN. read with English factory records. The earlier date might refer to Mustafa's activities, see fn. 11 ante.

The Hindu general fled wounded with 5,800 of his men slain; But in spite of this defeat at Vellore and in view of M.J.'s advance the authority of Sri Ranga was well exercised within the limits of the more recent Muhammadan conquests (in Kurnool dt.), as it appears from a duplicate of his reign. May, 1647. See I.H. R.C. XV. 27-8: (Nandiyala grant) not M.J. but Khan-i-Khanan. This was due to Bijapur support.

Vellore was subsequently recovered for the Royal by Sivappa, the Nayak of Ikkeri. SVH. 347.

14. EFI. VIII (1646-50), 166-7, xxv, 70, xxvii-xxix, 213-4; X(1655-60) 4; HM. 37.

The Qutb Shah "was maintained in possession of the Carnatic by the help of the Marathas in return for an ample money consideration. CM. 141.

15. Tabrezi, 69a-b; *Mission* iii. 45; Garstin, 5.

For Jinji (Telugu, Chenji), Garstin, SAM, 411-21; It was midway between Tandivanam & Tranomilai; the fort possessed a very respectable antiquity:

Strategic importance: fortified 14th C. by Vijaynagar. "The fortress of Gingee consists of 3 strongly fortified hills, connected together by walls of circumvallation, the Rajagiri (highest), the Kistnagiri and Chandrayan Drug... The citadel is on Rajagiri or the 'Great Mountain', at the foot

of which is the inner fort. This hill is perhaps 500 or 600 ft. high, and viewed from the east, bears a considerable resemblance to the hump and part of the back of a decapitated Brahman bull . . . the hill consists of a ridge terminating in a bluff which leaves backwards, overhanging in fact, to the south-ward, and falling with a precipitous sweep to the plain on the north. On the top of the bluff is the citadel. The long walls of circumvallation are very solidly built of granite blocks and enclose an area of something over 7 miles in circumference, according to Orme . . . The only means of ingress is across a bridge, thrown over a ravine 24 ft. wide and 60 ft. wide, and through a narrow stone gateway facing it, about 30 yds. off, with flanking walls having embrasures for guns and loop-holed for musketry . . . this part (acc. to Orme) could be defended by 10 men against 10,000." Garstin (413-6) observes that "everything tends to strengthen the hypothesis that the works of circumvallation were the work of the Vijaynagar rajas", rather than of Shivaji and Raja Ram or Bijapur governors.

Sadras, 35 m. south of Madras was made a trading settlement and a fort by the Dutch in 1647 and was famous for its fine muslims. Crole, *op. cit.* p.90.

Tandivanam (Tinthrani vanam, tamarind jungle) is about 16 m. east of Jinji in S. Arcot dt. It has a pagoda of Tinthranivana Iswara Swami. Of the congeries of villages forming the Tandivanam taluk the hamlet of Giddangal was once well fortified. SAM, 435.

The identification of Asiur is doubtful. It may be Aliyur in S. Arcot dt. (ASI. Sh. 2). or Arrilur or Attoor on Gingi-Trichi road in S. Arcot dt. (ASI. Sh. 11). Can it be Aspoor of Mackenzie MS. II. Sec. IX. 36, 37, 47 or Assoor (79°5'E, 11°18'N) or Arialur 79°8'E) 11°8'N) in Trichinopoly dt. (ASI. Sh. 4) ? ? 16. Telugu *Sisamalika*. written by a contemporary bard in praise of Krishna Reddi, Pantareddi chief of Desuru under Damarla Ventakadri (Damera Venkata). Mack. Mss. 15-4-3, See N. Venkatarmanayya, YCV, 226-7. A Dutch account in JIH (Dec. 1941), 312; *Mission III*. 45-6; MN. 362-79; Tabrezi, 5a-7a, 25a-b, 151b-153a (Pr. IHRC XVIII. 207); H3h. 21-2, HM. 37. Aiyangar says that Mir Jumla was invited by the Nayak of Madura for his own ulterior purpose. But this is not borne out by Persian historians. This was not in 1638, as stated; SAM 5; Hemingway, 54; Pate, i. 63.

16a. cf. Mir Jumla's observation : "I have conquered almost all *zamindars* of the Karnatak, especially that of Jinji who possessed a large army and was more powerful in many respects than the others." Tabrezi, C9b. *Further*, i. 362; Macleod, ii. 405.

17. For Conjeeveram and Wandiwash, JIH, *op. cit.*; Tabrezi, 74a; *Further*, i. 361; Macleod, ii, 403.

According to BS (320-4), Adil Shah, on hearing the news of disturbances of Raja Rayal, the greatest of the Rayals of the Karnatak, possessing a large income and not regarding any Hindu and Muhammadan ruler as his equal and oppressing the Muhammadans, sent Mustafa Khan in 1057 (? 1048-9): The Adil Shahi Van, under Shahji Bhonsla and Asad

Khan, was scattered in a big battle on the frontiers of the Rayal by the latter's general, Damarla and Krishna Tupakki of Jinji, the Hindus capturing Shahji's elephant corps and many articles. At this Mustafa Khan sent the heavy war materials to Bangalore and rapidly advanced and appealed to the Sultan for reinforcements. The Sultan then ordered Khan Muhammad and his associate commanders (Malik Raihan, Ali Khudaband Khan and Khairat Khan, and others to reinforce Mustafa, leaving the siege of Gandikota. As the Rayal pressed on his victory by advancing towards Balaghat, Malik Raihan, who had petitioned for meeting the Sultan, was ordered to join Mustafa at once, while Mustafa was ordered to defer battle till the arrival of Malik Raihan. The victory over the Hindus near Vellore, was followed by a quarrel between Malik Raihan and Mustafa, probably due to a complaint of a Qutb Shahi officer against Malik Raihan to Mustafa; but subsequently Malik Raihan (conquering Chittarkul) and going to Sera, joined Mustafa in his siege of Jinji. There was also a quarrel between Mustafa and Shahji and the latter was arrested (25 July, 1648). MN. 372.

For the siege of Jinji, MN. 364-403 (Fort described, 370), B.S. 324, 328 Tabrezi, 5a-7a, 20a-b, 69a-b; *Further*, 361-2; *Mission* III. 46 (17,000 horses); HSh. 22-27; Srivivasachari, HG. 18.

18. MN. 365-6, 370; Tabrezi, 5a-7a, 20a-b, 25a-b, 69a-b, (defection in Bijapur army); 79a (Mir Jumla to Mustafa); Mir Jumla got two letters from Mustafa and came to know the contents of Mustafa's letter to Shiva-ji Pandit. BS (Litho), 324-8; OPL. MS. 150a-151a; *Mission* III. 46, HSh. 21-2. A Dutch account states that Mir Jumla returned to Wandiwash in October, 1648. JIH (Dec. 1941), 312; Macleod, ii. 405, 407; SAM, 5. (Bijapur troops joining Golkonda troops in the siege); Hemingway, 40.

According to Manucci, a small river falling into the sea near Merkanam (64 miles S.S.W. of Madras) in Tandivanam taluk of S. Arcot district was the dividing line between Bijapur and Golkonda. *Storia* III. 241-2, 1; *Madras Manual of Administration*, iii, 474 in *Ibid*.

Tabrezi (69b) gives a different account from BS; Mir Jumla wrote to Golkonda that the Qutb Shahi army was well equipped and there were rumours of Mustafa's willingness to make peace, and that Bijapur army was weakening and Qutbshahi army increasing daily.

19. MN. 362-4, 365, 369, 373-5; BS. 326-9; Tabrezi, 5a-6a, 6a-7a, 21a-b; *Further*, i. 362; HSh. 21-2, 25; EFL IX (1651-4), pp. XXIV-XXV. My account is slightly different from HG. 165, 173.

Tabrezi (80b-81a) probably gives Mir Jumla's reply to Malik Raihan. Mir Jumla sent some oral messages to him through Dadaji Pandit. We read (*ibid.*, 75a-76a) of an *ahdnama* from Mir Jumla to Khan Muhammad, which seems to be a confirmation of the agreement between Mustafa and Mir Jumla about the partition of the Karnataka.

Before his death, Mustafa Khan, in the presence of Malik Raihan, gave an inventory of Padshahi goods and his own goods to Etbar Khan an eunuch (Khawajasara), and informed Malik Raihan that till the arrival of Khan Muhammad, he should keep an eye on Shahji, "the second in

command" (SAM, 5.), and carry on the siege. Evidently Shahji was dis-trusted. Malik Raihan put the Nawab's men under Yasowant Rao and Asad Khan. Khan Muhammad came from Tadpatri and, together with Malik Raihan, pressed the siege to victory with unwonted vigour.

The ms. reads Wasoati, which may be read as Rachootee (Raya choti) 14°3' N, 78°59'E) in Cuddappah dt. (ASI. Sh. 20).

20. MN. 362-4, 379-80; HSh. 22; cf. Mackenzie in JASB XIII (1844), 439-40.

20a. The litho. edn. of BS. (328-9) gives the date 22 Zilhijia, 1058 (28th Dec. 1648). But 2 MSS. (OPL. and Allahabad) give the year in figures, and words as 1059 (17th December, 1649). According to a Dutch account Jinji fell in February, 1649 (JfH. Dec. 1941, pp. 307-13). Sarkar (HSh. 22) differs.

21. The territories of the Nayak of Madura reached up to the Cape Comorin. The Nayak of Tanjore possessed Negapatam, Tranquebar and other coastal places but they were taken by Bijapur. Thevenot (1686 ed.), p. 92; HSh. 27; SAM, 5; Pate, i. 63. *Mission* iii. 47; HT. series 1, vol 17, No. 532, 518; vol 18 No. 539 in EFI. IX (1651-54), pp. xxiv-xxv; MM. 265-6.

Effects of Bijapuri conquest of Jinji given in BS 328-29 and names of the Karnatak tributaries of Bijapur, paying a revenue of 5 crores 25 lacs 61 thousand 6 hundred 49 rupees (5, 25, 61, 649 rupees) in BS 347. Jinji was occupied by Shivaji from Bijapur.

22. *Mission* iii. 47; HSh. 27, Dutch records in EFI IX (1651-54), xxiv-v; Thevenot (ch. 8, p. 102); MN. 403-4.

Ms. reads Kokotwar. It is to be identified with Kokkanur (150°27' N, 76°E), a village in Lingasugur district in Moodgul circar, Haidarabad, with very ancient temples, 15 miles n.w. of Kopbal, and the seat of Hussain Miana (ASI. sh. 30); now in Raichur dt. Mysore. HSh. 63, ARADND, 1929-30, p. 5; QSD. 454, 566 n; 67 n.

22a. EFI. ix. *op. cit.*; It is not generally known or emphasized that Cuddapah dt. was conquered in two instalments. *Further*, i. 357, 363; iii. 303-4 (No. 241 *Kaifiyat of Cittivelli*. L.R. 22, pp. 223-6); N. Venkataramanayya in YCV. 223-4.

Matli is now a hamlet on the R. Mindavi in Rayachoti taluqa, Cuddapah. In mid-17th century its chiefs were powerful enough to style themselves Raju or Raja. After being defeated by Mir Jumla, the chiefs became feudatories, first of Golkonda and later of the Mughals. Sherwani, *op. cit.* based on Cuddapah Dt. Gaz. by Brackenbury (1915) and by Sivasankaranarayana (1967).

23. Mir Jumla to a Bijapur grandee, Tabrezi, 151b-153a; Pr. IHRC XVIII (1942), 206-8; JBRS (March, 1944), 181-2; Thevenot 102; Ball's Tavernier, i. 284 & n; EFI (1651-54).

Timma Nayar (Nayudu) was the son (grandson, according to Kalsali, *Bellari Manual*, p. 45) of Ramalinga Nayudu, a subordinate ruler under Vijayanagar. Ramalinga is said to have founded (16th. c.) the town of Tadpatri where he built the temple of Rameshwar. Tadpatri is the headquarters of Tadpatri taluk in Anantapur dt., Madras; situated on right

bank of the Pennar river, 2 1/2 m. from the rly. stn. of Nandialpad (a trading centre, noted for silk and cotton cloths). After the battle of Talikota, the surrounding country was subdued by the Sultan of Golkonda and put under a Muhammadan governor. Timma built the temple of Chintalesvara or Chintalarayaswami. Later on Tadpatri was captured by Morari Rao and still later by Haider Ali. I.G. XXIII. 204.

Rai Sahib C.S. Srinivasachari (now deceased) had kindly informed me that this temple is on the bank of the river Painakini, and that Timma also built several villages near Tadpatri, esp. the town of Yadiki, 16 m. from it; and that he made gifts in the Tadpatri shrine (dated Saka 1585, cyclic year Vijaya); and that the title Nayar is a corruption of Nayanimgaru or Nayudu. We read of one Timma Rajah settled about 1557 in Chandra Giri JASB XIII (1844), 425.

According to Ferishta the fort of Gandikota was built in 1589. It was captured by the British under Captain Little in the war with Tipu in 1791. For the second time it was proved that it was not impregnable.

The Krishna district was ruled by the Andhras, the E. Chalukyas, and the Ganapatis of Warangal. Subsequently the northern part of the district came under Orissa and the southern part fell into the hands of a line of kings of a Telugu cultivating caste known as the Reddi kings, who had fortresses at Kondavid (Murtazanagar) (captured 1328-1482), Bellam Konda, and Kondapalli (c. 1360). (I.G. XV, 321; XV. 393; VII. 158). The Reddi (or *Kapu*) is also found in the Tamil country, the Reddi being the caste title. NAM, 279-80, Hemingway, *Trichinopoly Dt.*, 117-9.

Jillala. The ms. reads Chilchila or Jiljila, which is a copyist's error for Jillala (78° 23' E, 15° 23' N), 14 miles s.w. of Nandiyal on Nandiyal—Guti road. ASI. Sh. 21. It is not shown in the Survey of India maps C.S. Srinivasachari had told me that Jillala is a village in Proddatur taluk in Cuddapa dt. containing a Hanuman temple.

Golkonda's efforts to conquer Gandikonda in HA. 220-21, 224, 226-8; ASR (1930-34), pp. 42-43.

24. BS. 319-21 (raising of siege); Tabrezi, 151b-153a; JBRS. *op.cit.*; Pr. IHRC. *op. cit.*; JIH. XVIII, 28. Epigraphic details dated 1569 Saka or A.D. 1647 supply valuable corroborative evidence ARSIE. 1937-8, p. 107.

25. MN. 404; Tabrezi, 151b-153a; Thevenot, *op. cit.*; ch.8, p. 102; Sen's edn. p. 75, I.R.S.; EFI. IX 1651-4), 22-23n (according to a Dutch letter); Ball i. 284-5; for the French gunfounder and surgeon, Claude Maille or Bourgoes, see *Ibid* 116, 289, 301.

According to *Telugu sources*, Timma agreed to vacate Gandikota only if Guti was given first. The Mir, however, insisted on surrender of Gandikota first, solemnly avowing 'we never break our promise'. Timma consulted his officers, who, expecting to be defeated, advised surrender in exchange of Guti. Relying on the Mir's assurance, Timma had the images of gods and ornaments in temples buried, withdrew from the fort with women and all families to the *peta* or town below and demanded the *parwana* for Guti. The Mir, after firmly occupying the vacated fort, declin-

ed to hand over Gutī as suggested by his advisers that Gutī would be impregnable in Timma'a hands. In its place it was proposed to grant Hanumana-Gutī (a village in Kamalapuram taluqa), east of Gandikota. The disillusioned Nayar accused and cursed the Mir. Y.C.V. 222. *Telugu sources* : (a) Date in *Kaifiyat* of Sugumanchipalle (Gandikota Kaifiyat) L.R. 35, pp. 171-2; (b) *Kavile* of Tollamadugu, Mack. Mss. 15-3-49, p. 196; No. 244a, b; *Further*, iii. 305-6; i. 363; Sugumanchipalle Inscription Salivahana Saka, 1571, YCV. 222-3. See Appendix B.

The account is palpably wrong. Gutī, being conquered by Mir Jumla after Gandikota, could not have been promised by him yet. Again Mir Jumla is here described as a 'wazir of the Padshah' (i.e., Qutb Shah) and coming 'on behalf of Alamgir Padshah'. This is considered by N. Venkataramanayya as wrong (YCV. 223). But Sherwani gives a more reasonable explanation. QSD.

26. *Aurangzib*, i. 194.

27. cf. MN. 404-5. Tabrezi 67a-68a (Mir Jumla to Qutb Shah). Thevenot, 102.

28. For Gutī, Stone Inscription in Telugu in front of Anjaneya temple at Anumpalle in Gutī taluqa d. Saka 1572 or A.D. 1650. A.R. No. 375 of 1920. ARE 1920-21, para 72. See N. Venkataramanayya in YCV 224-5. *Kaifiyat of Sugumanchipalle*. *Further*, i, 363.

29. Zahur (MN. 406), as usual, attributes the conquest of Gutī to the influence of Adil Shah's might, the defenders thinking it was he who had despatched Mir Jumla. According to *Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu* (Patwardhan, 23-4) Shahji fought against the Mir at Gutī.

Gutī, Gutti is not Chandragutī, as described in *Muhammadnamah* as being 4 leagues from Gandikota. It is to be identified with the city known as Gooty (15°7' N. 77° 41'E), headquarters of a subdivision in the Anantapur district of A.P., 60 miles n.w. of Gandikota in Cuddapa dt. 14°. 48'N, 78°. 20'E). It is not to be confused with the hill-peak Chandragutī in north of Coorg, or with the place in Shimoga dt. in Mysore (I.G.-XII. 219; XXII, 282). *Further*, i. 364; iii. 306. Buchanan JMCM, III, 250-1) speaks of one Chandragupti or Chandra-gutī, also called Gutī, but distinguishes it from "Gutti, a place of some note," further north. "It formed one of the first acquisitions of the house of Ikeri, and has a fort which stands on a high-peaked hill. . . . About 150 years ago, it suffered much from an invasion by a Mussalman named Syed Assaripha". About a coss north from Chandragupti is a hill producing iron ore. . . . In this district there is some good sandal wood, and there are many small rick gardens (*Ibid*, 252). But there are obvious geographical difficulties in accepting these sites. Buchanan's Syed Assaripha is to be identified with Mir Muhammad. Said entitled Asafjah. C. S. Srinivasachari (now deceased) had kindly informed me that the fortress of Gooty was originally named Gautamipura, being the abode of Rishi Gautama.

29. Telugu sources (*Further*, i, 363) refer to Mir Jumla's conquests (after Gandikota, Gutī, Gurumkonda) of Kanchi, Vandavasi (Vanavasi) (Cengalapattu (Chingleput)), Arikadu, Mylapura (Mylapore) and Cennapatnam.

But this sequence is corroborated neither by Persian sources nor by European records.

For Tirupati, Ball, I, 273; K.S. Aiyangar, *Hist. of Tirupati*. For Courua (? Ontimon Koorva, about 12 miles n.w. of Tirupati), *ibid.*, 272n-274; NAM, 146 ff, ch. 4 (for Chandragiri); Sarkar, *Aurangzib*.

The opinion of Thevenot (102) that the conquest of Gandikota "put a full stop" to Mir Jumla's conquests would be applicable not to his victory in 1650 but to the subsequent occupation of it in 1652.

30. Tabrezi, 5a-7a (Q.S. to ShJ), 25a-b (Q.S. to Fasihuddin Muhammad), Pr. IHRC XVIII, 202-3.

31 Governor of the Deccan, 1645-7. Life in MU. I. 162-7 ; Tr. ASB, I. 694-6.

32. Letters to Abdus Samad, Tabrezi, *ibid.* 20a-b, 19a-b, 21a-b. ("of territories conquered by Qutb Shah, two parts taken immediately by Adil Shah; and of territories conquered by Adil Shah, no part either in territory or goods, was paid to Qutb Shah-na az mulk, na az mal. If he pays. I will pay also."). Pr. IHRC. *op. cit.*

33. (a) Changed Relationship. Tabrezi, 27a(Q.S. to Haji Nasira) ;

(b) Mir Jumla hostile, *ibid.*, 19a-b (Q.S. to Mulla Abdus Samad); M.N. 406-8;

(c) Jillala & Nandiyal, *ibid.* 151b-153a ;

(d) Gutti, Qutb not reciprocating *ibid.*, 156b-157a ;

(d) Messengers and spies, *ibid.*, 76a-77b (Mir Jumla to Ikhlas Khan).

Syed Chand Muhammad, havaladar of Nandiyal, demanded surrender of 2 or 3 villages from Narsu Pundi of Jillala, then under Mir Jumla. For Mir's reply and details see Pr. IHRC, (1942), 20c-8, & 6, JBRS (March, 1944), 181-2.

34 (a) Tabrezi, 20a-b; Q.S. to Mulla Abdus Samad seeking advice. "The truth is that Adil Shah knew it well that according to the agreement of division (1/3:2/3), Qutb Shah would demand his 1/3, as Adil Shah would demand his 2/3; and when we want our share. Adil Shah makes false accusations to gain time. (19a-b).

(b) Jauhar's activities : Jauhar, though outwardly warned by Adil Shah, continued his depredations, by making false explanations. For example, he justified his despatch of an army to that side on the plea that a *muqaddam* of a village of Qutb Shah had fled and taken shelter with the son of Venkat. Qutb Shah deputed some wazirs and soldiers to that direction but as Jauhar's army was connected with Adil Shah, and as no leave for war had yet been received from him, they were waiting. Tabrezi 25b-27a, 30a-31b (To Haji Nasira, envoy at Bijapur.

(c) Q.S. asks Haji Nasira to inform his sister, Bari Saheba, Bijapuri Queen, of his very great eagerness to conquer the Karnatak and of his expectation to get the co-operation of Adil Shah. 30a-31b; QSD 453.

(d) Countering Kh. Md's charges, 27a, 36a-37a. Q.S. wants Bijapur to invade the Karnatak.

(e) 76a-b, 76b-77b (M.J. to Ikhlas Khan), 77b (to Abdul Wahhab),

ARSIE 1935-6, p. 93 for Abdul Wahhab.

35. The account of this war and peace is based on *Muhammadnamah* 406-15, *Further*, i. 364 and two English records of January 14 and February 12, 1652 in EFL 1651-54, pp. 99 and 111. The date of the peace has, therefore, been fixed in between. The letter of Feb. 12 gives the amount of the indemnity as "600,000 (some say 900,000) pagodas". But it corroborates the Persian history as regards restoration of the conquests of Mir Jumla, and and the attack of some of them by the Bijapuris. It refers to the recovery, after an attack of illness, of Adil Shah and reported rumours of his death, and to the "troubles" caused to the English by this war between the two Muhammadan powers. Sarkar mentions the amount of indemnity as 6 lakh luns. (*House of Shivaji*, 162, 27n). In 1651 Shahji is said to have defeated Mr. Jumla, H.G. 175, VSCV. 121.

The Ghorpades of Mudhol were on cordial terms with the Bahmanis and later the Bijapuris.

36. MN. 416-31. Tabrezi, 153a.

Kasba of Rud is evidently Ruddum (77°30'E, 14°8'N) about 11 miles w. of Penukonda. Kandarpa Fort (77°7'E, 14°18'N) is in Bellary district, east of the river Pennar (ASI. Sh. 19).

Penukonda, Pr. IHRC, XV. 29; *Further*, i. 364.

37. Proenza (*Mission* III, 47) supported by MN. 431-53; HSh. 28.

38. Dutch records and HT. series I. Vol. XIX. no. 550 (i) in EFL IX. xxxiii; HSh. 28n; MN. 453; *Further*, i. 364-5.

This would show that friction with Qutb Shah had begun about 1652-3 & that Mir Jumla was winning over the Rayal to his side, preferring to mediate on his behalf with the Mughals.

39. Khan Muhammad had thus to abandon the forts conquered from Mysore, but he sent the able Siddi Masud against Dasraj, the Mysore general, who had advanced against the fort of Kaveripatam (?). Dasraj was beheaded and Siddi Masaud was rewarded with the Khilat of Wazir and the title of Masaud Khan and was left in charge of the fort to prevent repetition of troubles in Mysore, MN. 453-58; HSh. 28, 21; *Further*, i. 365.

40. Zahur says that Sri Ranga, on hearing of the news of the impending march of Khan Muhammad, did not think it safe to remain in the fort and after strongly defending it left it with a few followers before the arrival of Khan Muhammad before Vellore (described). MN. 458-59: Date of conquest of Vellore in Batavia letter of Nov. 7, 1654 (N.S.) Hague Tr. series I, vol. XIX, No. 551 in EFL IX (1651-54), P. xxxiii; Proenza (*Mission* III.47) records (1659) the rumour that Sri Ranga was expelled from Vellore by a second and stronger Golkonda force. But Zahur and Dutch records state that the Bijapuris achieved this conquest. HSh. 21 28n. See I.G. XXII. 285 *Further* i. 362 (Rayal's flight).

41. MN. 460-66; *Mission* III. 48; HSh. 25, 28; EFL IX (1651-54), 290-1. Garstin, 5 : Pate i. 64; Hemingway, 54-5. Loss of Chandragiri to Golkonda & last days of the Rayal : *Further*, i. 368-9 based on Telugu sources and inscriptions.

Manucci records his belief in a current rumour that Mir Jumla consulted a famous Indian witch and sorceress, 'named Luna at Cochin', and purchased from her one of the devil-dolls with which he did extraordinary things and could learn what was going on, as illustrated in the events of his life (*Storia*, i. 161-64; ii, 72-74; iii. 224).

Mir Jumla's Administration in the Karnatak

1. Mir Jumla's virtual supremacy over the Karnatak conquests

By dint of remarkable bravery, untiring energy, and profound diplomatic skill, and with the help of his efficient army, drilled by European artillery-men, Mir Jumla succeeded, not only in overrunning a vast tract of the East coast, known as the Madras of Eastern Karnatak, but also in driving a wedge into the Bijapuri Karnatak. In theory, this rich land, 300 miles long and of breadth varying from 40 to 200 miles, yielding a revenue of 43 lacs of rupees a year, possessing several diamond mines and many strong and well-defended fortresses, now fell like a ripe fruit, into the hands of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah. Naturally he exulted over his new gains and hastened to reward his minister-general by bestowing on him a *Naurozi Khil'at* after the conquest of Gandikota and conferring on him the hereditary *mutawalliship* of several *wakf* villages in the Karnatak. The Sultan estimated the ability of his minister-general so highly that he virtually appointed him 'Tarafdar' or governor of the 'Carnatte province.'¹

Mir Jumla, too, acted, for sometime at least, as if he were merely the "Sar-i-Lashkar" or General of the Sultan. As he wrote to the latter: 'Almost all *wazirs*, *zamindars*, *maniwars* and

sardars and middlemen have done their best in this expedition. "They have all received the special presents sent by you and offered their grateful thanks for the same. Every one expects to get your favour, according to his merit, and I expect that these dependents engaged in fighting would secure your favour. As far as I know, I do not waver in the discharge of my duties regarding the administration of territories and provisions, securing the goodwill of the great and the small, reconciling soldiers and subjects and defeating the enemies. In all these I am doing my level best. I pray that your Majesty would always advise me." In their report to the English E.I.C. dated 17th January, 1651, Walter Littleton and Venkat Brahman, who had been sent by the English Agent on a mission to the Nawab, observed that the latter annually sent to the king a revenue of 20 hundred thousand pagodas.²

With his characteristic thoroughness Mir Jumla had set himself to the task of establishing complete and effective control over the conquered country, as he advanced. The Fort St. George factors observed (January 4, 1647); "The warres (wars) and fammine doth furiously rage in these parts, and wee thinke that there wilbe a period sett unto the former before the latter; for the Anna Bobb (al Nawab) Mir Jumlah hath taken the government of Pullican (Pulicat) and St. Thome, setting the country all in order as he goeth along . . .". This is corroborated by an order (*Hasbul hukm*) of Qutb Shah to the Dutch captain of Pulicat, confirming the agreement which Mir Jumla had made with the captain for "capturing the *gasba* and the fort and the port of Pulicat and the country and territories" adjacent to it.³ Again Mir Jumla also confirmed the rights of the English at Madras, granted by the Damarla Brothers in 1639 and confirmed by Sri Ranga Rayal in 1645.

With the growing estrangement of the Sultan from his victorious general, the latter began to look upon his conquests in the Karnatak as his own independent kingdom. In his letter to Khalifa-i-Sultan, the Wazir of Persia, Mir Jumla noted : "The entire body of rebels and rajas of these parts (i.e. the Karnatak) have all been brought within the fold of my control."⁴ It would thus appear that the sovereign rights of the Raja of Chandragiri were acquired at first by Sultan Qutb Shah and later on usurped

by Mir Jumla himself.

2. Mir Jumla's civil administration

Mir Jumla's administrative system reflected the dual origin his dominions. His conquests made him the overlord of erstwhile Vijaynagar territories in the eastern Karnatak. It is thus reasonable to infer that he maintained the system which he had inherited from Vijaynagar or from the Nayakan rule, though the change of masters caused a change of spirit in the administration. At the same time, being the master of Qutbshahi *jagirs*, soon transformed into an independent dominion, he inherited the administrative practice of Golkonda.

It is not, however, possible to give a detailed and comprehensive account of Mir Jumla's administration in the Karnatak. The duration of his authority was not so long as to enable him to introduce any innovation in the system of government. Moreover, he found his hands full, first owing to the continued warfare, necessary to conquer the country, and then to his pre-occupations during the period of his strained relations with the Golkonda court, and finally his departure from the Karnatak after his appointment in Mughal imperial service.

Mir Jumla must have continued the village organisation of the Vijaynagar empire, as in the contemporary European records we find references to the designations of some old village officials, e.g., the *Natwar* or headman of a *nadu* or circle of villages, the *Karnam* or *Kanakkapillai* or accountant, the *Taliyari* (*sthal-war*) or *tukri*, or the village policeman, and the *poligar*, the police officer, responsible for safety and peace of a circle of villages.⁵

Gandikota was the headquarters of Mir Jumla's government. It was connected by road with Haidarabad on one side (via Kambam, Macherla, Davarkonda and Hayatnagar) and with Madras on the other. The scattered references in some English factory records show that the country conquered by Mir Jumla, especially the region round Madras, was divided into some administrative units, each being placed in charge of a Governor.⁶

In English records we read of Mallappa, Sayyid Ibrahim, Timmaji Bala Rau and Mir Sayyid 'Ali as connected with

Nawab Mir Jumla's government of Poonamallee or having relations with the English at Madras during 1655-58. Sir William Foster and Mr. Love describe Mallappa and Timunaji as the Nawab's *Adigar* or representative at the choultry of Madras, but it would appear that Mallappa was not only the Nawab's *Adigar* at Madras, but also acted as his governor of Poonamallee. For, after confirming the privileges granted to the English by Sri Ranga in June, 1647, Mir Jumla sent Mallappa along with the English Agent to Madras "to look after" its government, and he remained there for seven years, "governing after the manner of the former governors". Sayyid Ibrahim succeeded Mallappa as Governor of Poonamallee and he sent Timmaji as the Nawab's *Adigar* at Madras.⁷ In 1653 Rustam Beg, son of Zulfiqar Astarabadi, was the *havaladar* of Poonamallee.⁸

Mir Jumla was not only an able soldier-statesman, but an efficient financier as well. He placed the financial administration of the Karnatak in charge of a class of Brahmans who became distinguished as "Golkonda Neyogees" (employed). The total revenue obtained by Mir Jumla from the Karnatak was 43 lakhs of rupees a year,⁹ His principal sources of income were (i) land revenue, (ii) the 'Carnatic plunder, (iii) diamond mining, (iv) commercial activities, including control of internal production and monopoly, (v) customs, (vi) Octroi duties, (vii) slavery licences, (viii) presents, and (ix) impositions.

In his land revenue administration, Mir Jumla appears to have followed the system of farming the revenue. With the establishment of Muhammadan rule, there was a change in the nomenclature and classes of persons connected with land and abridgment of the privileges of village proprietors and increase of assessments on land.¹⁰

He made a vast fortune by acquiring the wealth of the captured forts, "hoarded treasures" at various places and other spoils of war, and by plundering the many old temples in the Karnatak and seizing all precious stones of their idols. According to Catrou "he compelled the inhabitants of the Karnatic to surrender to him whatever they possessed of gold and jewels; and he caused those, who, according to the custom of the country had buried their treasures, to expire under the severity of the lash." Thevenot observes that Mir Jumla "had the

wealth of a prince", possessing 20 maunds weight of diamonds, all got from the 'Carnatic plunder'.¹¹

Golkonda was then world famous for its diamonds. The industry, including mining, refining and chiselling, was a most lucrative one and constituted a principal source of revenue. Getting information that there were diamond mines in the Karnatak, Mir Jumla sent 12,000 conscript agricultural labourers to work them for one year prior to his conquest of the country, and came to possess 5 small bags of diamonds, but as their quality did not compensate for the trouble involved, he forbade "further mining" and "sent all these poor people back to tillage."¹² However, the Kullur mines on the river Krishna, situated within Mir Jumla's jurisdiction, constituted the biggest mine in Golkonda and made him the wealthiest man there. He farmed these to his relatives and friends, reserving the biggest and the most perfect stones for himself. Worked by 60,000 men, women and children, these yielded stones varying from 40 to 900 carats in weight. The trade was modelled on Raolkooda mines in Bijapur Karnatak where the contractors paid 2% *ad valorem* royalty to the government besides the permission to dig. We do not know if Mir Jumla's mines produced other stones like agate, topaz, amethyst etc., but he was considered to be an expert also in pearls (imported from Persian Gulf area) and Tavernier, wishing to sell these to the Sultan, had first to visit him at Gandikota (1652) for getting his recommendation.^{12(a)} Besides diamonds, Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions also abounded in bezoars, iron, steel and saltpetre, and Mir Jumla could manufacture and procure a large quantity of the last mentioned article every year.¹³

The proceeds of Mir Jumla's extensive and well organised commercial enterprises, both inland and foreign, formed another source of his revenue. The basis of his economic system was monopoly. He charged monopoly prices and tried to control internal production. He established a monopoly of the trade in all 'brown' or unbleached cloth in his "new conquests"; and they were sold at 20% profit. Again, sale of grain seemed to be a strict monopoly. Paddy and other necessities coming to Madras through his jurisdiction had to pay customs, while paddy was sold to the towns people at 25% more than the market price. The English at Madras could not sell anything except the articles

purchased from the men of Nawab's farmer at prices 50% higher than those prevailing in the neighbourhood. He wanted to establish a monopoly on "all imported goods". His articles were carried to Pegu and to Persia customs free, as if they were the goods of the English E. I. C.¹⁴

Mir Jumla's administration of customs was an index to the combination of Qutb Shahi and Vijayanagar systems. In the first place he endeavoured to strictly enforce the clauses of the *Gol-den Farman*, granted by the Sultan to the English in 1634.^{11(a)} Secondly, as successor to the Hindu Raja Sri Ranga, by virtue of his conquest, Mir Jumla had inherited the suzerain's claim to half the customs and revenues of the port and the city of Madraspatam respectively. For the collection of his share of customs and revenues, the Nawab had his officers (*adigars* or *adhikaris*) stationed at Madras, San Thome, Mylapore and other places. The services of such officers were indispensable to him, for attempts to deprive him of his due share were probably not infrequent. Mallapa, the Nawab's *Adigar* (*adhikari*) at Madras (1648-54), constantly attended the choultry to see that his master's share of the customs was duly credited.¹⁵

Mir Jumla also endeavoured to increase the customs on articles of common consumption, sold in the market at Madras, e.g. provisions, betel, herbs, in violation of the Nayak's grant of Madras dated 22nd August, 1639, and Sri Ranga's grant (Oct.-Nov., 1645) which he had confirmed.¹⁶

An Octroi or transit duty was also levied on the English factors to their great annoyance.¹⁷ The Nawab used to get half of the fee for licensing slaves. John Leigh, a factor at Pettapoli, who was ordered to sit at the Madras Choultry as judge on alternate weeks, observed: "They will venture their neckes for 9 d., for the custom is but 18 d., and the Nabab hath 9 of it."¹⁸ Presents from different companies formed another source of income to Mir Jumla. Possibly additional contributions were realised in times of urgent need.¹⁹

Mir Jumla's administration of criminal justice was severe but quick. Referring to his conduct in connection with the trial of some criminals on 14th September, 1652 (NS), Tavernier says: "It is the custom in this country not to keep a man in prison; but immediately the accused is taken he is examined and sen-

tence is pronounced on him, which is then executed without any delay. If the person whom they have seized is found to be innocent he is released at once; and whatever the nature of the case may be, it is promptly concluded". Next day when informed that four prisoners, "who were then at the door of his tent" had arrived, Mir Jumla remained silent more than half an hour, "writing continually and making his secretaries write, but at length he suddenly ordered the criminals to be brought in; and after having questioned them and made them confess with their own mouths the crime of which they were accused, he remained nearly an hour without saying anything continuing to write and to make his secretaries write." Then many army officers entered his tent and to their salute Mir Jumla replied only by nodding his head. One prisoner, "who had entered a house and had slain a mother and her three infants was condemned forthwith to have his feet and hands cut off, and to be thrown into a field, near the high road to end his days." The Nawab ordered another who had committed theft on the high road, "to have his stomach slit open and to be flung in a drain." The heads of two others, whose crimes were not mentioned by Tavernier were cut off.

The above details from an eye-witness's account give us some idea of the methodical way in which Mir Jumla transacted administrative work. We come to know of his profound industry and his capacity for efficient discharge of duties from the following events also recorded by the same foreign traveller: "On the 15th September at 7 O'clock in the morning, we went to the Nawab, and immediately we were announced he asked us to enter his tent, where he was seated with two of his secretaries by him. According to the custom of the country—where one goes with naked feet in slippers, without stockings, because wherever you enter you walk on a carpet and sit in this country as in Turkey, and as our tailors do here,—the Nawab had the intervals between his toes full of letters and he also had many between the fingers of the left hand. He drew them sometimes from his feet, sometimes from his hand, and sent his replies through his two secretaries, writing some also himself." He made his secretaries read out their letters, and then taking them, sealed them himself, "giving some to footmen and others to horsemen".²⁰

For facility in transmission of news, Mir Jumla set up a

dakchauki from Haidarabad to the Karnatak. Its working greatly impressed Tavernier, who has left a graphic description of it. "At every two leagues there are small huts, where two or three men employed for running live and immediately when the carrier of a letter has arrived at one of these huts, he throws it to the others at the entrance and one of them takes it up and at once sets off of run. It is considered unlucky to give a letter into the hand of the messenger; it is therefore thrown at his feet, and he must lift it up." The runner-post system, being faster than rider post, helped quick transmission of news. Mir Jumla ordered 16 horsemen to escort Tavernier and his party and provide them with any requisites of journey on the way leading to the frontier, which was a river 13 leagues from Gandikota.²¹

We have some epigraphic evidence of the system of inland security on roads and payment of compensation for loss of merchandise in transit or theft during Mir Jumla's occupation of the Karnatak and Gutti (c. 1650). It may reasonably be inferred that this system was prevalent under Hindu rule. A *nayaka*, owning village Patakottacheruvu, had to compensate some merchants whose merchandise was lost during transit near it, and, in doing so, had to face troubles. Again, Mir Jumla issued a *parwana*, "demanding compensation for certain merchants for theft committed within the limits of some lands of the above village, whose inhabitants disclaimed the lands. As these were found to belong to two brothers, Pedda-Timma and Chinna-Timma of another village (Nakkadoddi), the latter agreed to pay the compensation."^{21(a)}

3. Military Organisation

At the time of his deputation by Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shah to the Karnatak, his own personal army, apart from the Qutb Shahi forces, was fairly considerable; for Aurangzeb tells us that Mir Jumla sent 'the major part of his army' to the Karnatak. There his huge wealth enabled him to build up and maintain a vast soldiery. According to Walter Littleton and Vankat Brahman (17th January 1651), Mir Jumla had 300 elephants, 400 or 500 camels and 10,000 oxen. In the campaign against Bijapur in 1652, he brought into action a large army, consisting of Mughals, Afghans, Pathans, and Rajputs recruited with

great efforts and of which he was proud. As he felt himself strong and firm in these regions, he won over many Qutb Shahi generals and soldiers by "fine treatment and favours" and collected together an army as efficient as the old Shahi army.²¹ Muhammad Mumin, who was sent by Aurangzeb to report on the affairs of Mir Jumla (1653-54) observed that his army probably numbered 9000 cavalry—of which 5000 were his own servants and 4000 Qutb Shahi deserters,—and 20,000 infantry,—that his resources consisted of cash, fine jewels, artillery, good elephants, Iraqi and Arab horses and that all articles of pomp, and dignity had reached perfection.^{22a}

Mir Jumla was a skilful general with an eye for details. As early as 1642 he made proper arrangements for logistics. Not only were food for men and fodder for animals supplied at current market prices, from Masulipatam, Kondapalli and Kondavidu, but even dealers were asked to accompany the army. Again, for proper organisation and expeditious work in the field a regular postal system (*dakchauki*) was set up so that fast couriers and pigeons would convey news between the camp and the court every day.²³

As regards offensive arms we are told by Tavernier that the Hindu footsoldiers, with knotted hair on the head, generally used a 'broad sword like the Swiss', and that the barrels of the muskets were 'stronger' and 'much neater' than those of the French on account of the 'superior quality' of the iron used. The cavaliers used bows and arrows, a battle-axe and a buckler. Their defensive armour consisted of a helmet for protecting the head and a jacket of mail hanging therefrom to the shoulders, besides armlets, coats of mail and quilted cloaks. But the common footsoldiers had only 3 or 4 ells (about 5 yards) of cloth, hardly sufficient 'to cover their front and back'.

The use of artillery consisting of cannon and catapults in expeditions necessitated the provision of huge stores of fire-arms. Mir Jumla's park of artillery manned, principally as Bernier says, by Franks and Christians, was excellent. The art of sapping and mining was well-known.^{23a}

There were many Europeans,—Franks, Englishmen, Portuguese and Italians in Mir Jumla's army, chiefly in the artillery, as gunners, gunner's mates, armourers and sometimes as troopers.

During 1650-2, there were six gunners lent by the English to Mir-Jumla—Jeremy Root, Hugh Dixon, Richard Emerson, John Cowhill, Robert Bringbourne and Richard Hall. The services of Jeremy Root, gunner of Fort St. George, were highly valued by Mir Jumla. In 1653 two more gunners deserted the Fort St. George garrison and were employed by Mir Jumla. The latter readily afforded protection to any runaway from Fort St. George garrison.²⁴ An English gunner and "his Italian comrade", belonging to the Nawab's army, invited to a dinner Tavernier and his companion (M. Du Jardin) when they visited Mir Jumla at Gandikota in September, 1652. A French gunner, gunfounder and surgeon named Claude Maille of Bourges was then engaged in casting 20 pieces of cannon (10 of 48 pounds, and 10 of 24 pounds), which Mir Jumla wanted to place inside the fort of Gandikota as it was difficult to carry them up. Copper flowed in "from all quarters" and many idols, removed from "the pagodas" by the army, were collected together. Maille succeeded in melting all metals and idols, "except the 6 large idols of the famous pagoda of Gandikota". But as he could not manufacture a single cannon, he gave up the work and subsequently left the Nawab's service.²⁵ Mir Jumla had several Hindu generals in his army. Dāmarla Venkatappa joined him after being dismissed by Sri Ranga. Tupakki Krishnappa Nayak of Jinji played a very important part as Mir Jumla's General during the Hindu revolt in the Karnatak.²⁶ Another Hindu commander was Chinnatambi Mudaliyar.²⁷

Mir Jumla had to be naturally cautious about maintaining an effective control over such a heterogeneous body, having in it deserters from armies of the neighbouring powers. Tavernier says that no one was permitted to cross a river 13 leagues from Gandikota "without having the Nawab's passport."²⁸

There were occasional reviews of the army. On Sept. 1, 1652 (N.S.), Tavernier found "the whole army" encamped at Gandikota near the base of the mountain on the plains of the Pennar river, and the cavalry, whose review Mir Jumla was just finishing, struck Tavernier as "very smart". A second review of "the greater part of the army" was fixed for 14th September.

As regards the system of payment, both feudal traits and cash payment prevailed. The first is indicated by the existence of

muqasdots or assignees of land or *jagirdars* who made money contributions, though it is not clear if they supplied soldiers also. Professional soldiers were sometimes paid in cash through their commanders by the State. Tavernier notes that "all the Frank gunners" went (11th Sept., 1652) to the tent of Mir Jumla, "clamouring for payment of the promised four months' wages," and they even threatened to desert him in case of non-payment. The Nawab asked them to come the next day, when they were paid for three months and assured of the payment of arrear of one month at the close of September. The Frank gunners immediately spent their wages in amusements and entertainments, "the baladines (dancing girls) carrying off more than half of it."²⁹

Besides rock-fortresses, perched on hills and mountains like Jinji, Gandikota, Udayagiri and others we read also of forest-forts, like Rapur, situated in the midst of a large forest, and also forts like Nellore, located in a big plain.

4. Mir Jumla's overseas commercial activities.

Absorbed as Mir Jumla was in his political activities he never lost sight of commerce, the perennial source of his wealth, prosperity and power. From slight beginnings, the volume of his commerce, internal and external, swelled mightily by the end of 1650. Early next January, Mir Jumla had 4,000 horses, 300 elephants, 400 or 500 camels, and 10,000 oxen, which used to transport his goods to several countries like Golkonda and Bijapur and even into different regions of the Mughal Empire. Everywhere he had his agents and merchants stationed. Moreover, he had trading relations with (i) Burma - Arrakan, Pegu, Tenasserim (Mergui Archipelago), (ii) Acheen, Peruk, Macassar and the Maldives, (iii) Persia and Arabia, and (iv) Bengal. His mercantile marine then consisted of 10 ships and he gradually increased their number by building more ships, especially at Narsapur in the East coast. There a junk of 800 tons had been built in July, 1638 for being sent to Persia or Mocha and it was referred to in factory correspondence as the "great" junk of the *Sar-i-Khail*.³⁰

Unwilling to employ Vijaynagar sailors under apprehension of their treachery, Mir Jumla asked both the English and Dutch

companies to lend him pilots and sailors for navigating his junks, viz., Roger Adams (1642), Richard Walwyn (1647), John Gayton (1646), Thomas Bostock (1650).³¹ There were some Muslim pilots also, for example, Muhammad Beg in charge of the *Mubarak Tukli*, sailing to Pegu, Nakhuda Nura, sailing to Acheen, Nakhuda Mulla Hasan Ali sailing to Gombroon.³²

In spite of his growing mercantile marine, Mir Jumla suffered from naval weakness and had to depend for passports on the European Companies. In 1651, the Sultan of Golkonda and Mir Jumla ceased to ask the Portuguese for passports for their vessels, yet during the siege of Madras (September, 1657—April, 1658), the English were asked to give "passes" (passports) for Mir Jumla's sea-going junks. But they refused.³³

Mir Jumla wanted to get a share in the profitable trade with Burma. It was the home of "perfect Rubies and Sapphires," prized in different parts of the world. Its gumlack was of the finest quality and superior to Indian lac. Martavan jars, some gold, copper, tin, quicksilver, ganza (bell-metal) and benzoin were also available there.³⁴ As minister in Golkonda he sent Hassan Khan to Pegu to open commercial relations with its ruler, famous as "the Lord of White Elephants." Subsequently the Mir asked the latter to permit Muhammad Beg, the captain of a Golkonda ship, to trade annually with his own ships to Pegu.³⁵ Mir Jumla sometimes employed English private traders (e.g. Richard Cogan in 1647) to conduct commercial operations on his behalf to Pegu, which were more profitable than those of the English. Mir Jumla's junks laden with his own freight goods sailed regularly from Masulipatam to Pegu, while his servants and agents used to constantly journey to and from Pegu, sometimes on Dutch ships (e.g. 1653). The political disorders in Pegu due to the invasion of the Chinese adversely affected the trade of Mir Jumla as well as of the Dutch about 1651. About 1653 the King of Pegu prohibited the sale of tin and tusks to strangers and the export of *Ganza* and organised guards on the way to Martaban to implement his order.³⁶

Arrakan was famous for wild elephants. Mir Jumla prayed to Dharmarājā, the ruler of Arrakan, for grant of trade facilities to his men. At his special entreaty, the Rājā released from prison seven Irāqis suspected to be Shāhjahan's agents. He also

requested the Rājā to release several Mughals long imprisoned in Arrakan and to grant free trade facilities so that Arrakan might be the meeting place of traders from different lands. Mir Jumla purchased 4 elephants sent by the Rājā to the East Coast and received one as a reward.³⁷

In return for the East Coast Calicoes, Mir Jumla procured the spices of the East Indies, slaves and rice from Macassar, tin from Peruk and *cowries* from the Maldives.³⁸

Persia figured prominently in his commercial enterprises. Every year he used to send a large quantity of goods in his junks of all sizes from the East Coast of India to Persia. Other ships were not allowed to load themselves till those of Mir Jumla, the "all ruling Sar-i-Khail or Vizier" were filled up. His power and influence as the minister of Golkonda enabled him to utilise the ships of the English E. I. Company also in transporting his articles (e.g. sugar in 1637 and '40) to Persia without paying any freight and any customs. In 1651-2 Mir Jumla's junk reached Gombroon *via* Gwador on the Makrān coast and about 200 *tumans* were remitted as the Company's share of customs due on his goods from Masulipatam. In 1653 the Gombroon factors apprehended troubles if the landing and transporting customs-free of two bales of Mir Jumla's goods became known to the Shahbundar, as the latter claimed the right to open bales, suspected to belong to "the Moors". But they were advised by the Madras factors that if they were "to continue in this country", they must not deny the privilege and must be prepared to suffer in case of denial.³⁹ The practice of sending goods customs-free continued when Mir Jumla became the Governor of Bengal.

Mir Jumla regularly sent his junks to Mokha, piloted by Englishmen in 1642, 1646 and 1647.⁴⁰

Through his commercial activities Mir Jumla the Persian became one of the principal inheritors of the maritime trade of the Vijaynagar Empire with Arrakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago, and with Persia and Arabia. In the 16th century the Portuguese had displaced the Arabs as the carriers of that trade. During the first half of the 17th century Mir Jumla endeavoured to step into the void, created by the decline of the Vijaynagar empire and the Portuguese. The situation was favourable, as the English trade had not been securely

established and as there was acute rivalry between the Dutch and the English, each trying to outbid the other in securing the favours of the Mir. Mir Jumla also became a keen competitor of the English E. I. Company especially in the Burmese and Persian trade. The English not finding any opportunity of getting freight on goods sent from Masulipatam to Persia, endeavoured not to lose any freight in the Bay of Bengal ports. They also tried to prevent the extension of his commercial ascendancy in Pegu and the Burmese waters.⁴¹

5. Religious effects of Mir Jumla's conquest of the Karnatak.

In one of his letters to Mir Jumla, Qutb Shah wrote: "The territories of Hindu Karnatak have come under my possession with its villages and forts. The banner of Islam has been unfurled there. The shrines of idols and places of pilgrimage have been converted into mosques and places of worship of the Muslims and the practices of Islamic religion have been widely diffused. Three *qitas* of villages under a town, are set apart according to the rules of the Shariat, for the inhabitants of Najf. As these territories were conquered through the energy and efforts of Mir Jumla, the Mutwalliship of these villages is now conferred on him and his family indefinitely. The total income of these places should be sent to Najf. "My successors are hereby ordered that no interference should be made in this arrangement."

Speaking of his victories in the Karnatak, Mir Jumla wrote to Nawab Khalifā-i-Sultān, Wazir of Persia. "By God's grace and Padshah's luck, the banner of Islam has been flown in the infidel country of the Karnatak and that of Hinduism has been brought down. . . . The voice of Islām and the practices of our saints have been manifest here."⁴² As an instance of the conversion of temples into mosques it may be noted that in 1653, Rustam Beg, the *havaladar* of Poonamallee fort, built a mosque by demolishing the upper part of a temple.⁴³

Mir Jumla pillaged the temples, by plundering their wealth and collecting together the idols, whether of gold, silver or copper and melted some of them for casting cannon.

An epigraphic record would, however, tend to show that the Hindus could continue to give grants of money to gods and prie-

sts of temples. The stone inscription in Telugu in Gutti taluqa dated Saka 1572/1650 referred to before, records that the Vaisyas, Nagaras and other subjects of the village made money gifts to the gods Gopalaswami and Hanumantaraya and the priest (purohit) Gopalabhattacha.^{43a}

6. Strong position of Mir Jumla.

Even neutral observers, like the foreign merchants, were impressed by Mir Jumla's power and great resources, and came to show him the deference due to crowned heads. Walter Littleton and Venkata Brahman, who had been sent by the English Agent on a mission to the Nawab, observed (Jan. 1651): "The whole kingdom of Gulcundah is governed by him, of whom the people stand in feare and subjection unto as to the kinge himself." Even Aurangzeb wrote to the Emperor in 1654 that "Mir Jumla had got hold over a populous country containing forts, ports and mines . . . Possessing a pleasing countenance, a medium stature, wisdom and quickness of apprehension, and well-behaved to others, he had under his control many worthy officers." "In short . . . though Mir Jumla's rank was that of a noble, he possessed the power, wealth and grandeur of a ruling prince".⁴⁴ The rebellion of Mir Jumla, the Mughal invasion of Haidarabad and Mir Jumla's appointment as Mughal Premier,—all follow logically as the sequel to his conquest of the Karnatak.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Waris, 102a; *Tabrezi*, 67a-68 (*khilat*); 42a-43a (*mutawaliship*); QN. 82 (Tarafdar), *Storia* i. 231-2.
2. *Tabrezi*, 66a-27a (methods of consolidation); EFL. IX.12.
3. EFL. VIII. 70; *Tabrezi*, 35b-36a.
4. *Tabrezi*, 70a-72b; MU, III, 530-1: *Aurangzib* I, 195, 216.
- 4a. A Telugu stone inscription of Saka 1572/1650 in Gutti taluqa proves his quality. It gives to Mir Jumla the Hindu titles 'Rajadhiraja' and 'Rajaparamesvara' as well as the Persian designation 'Hajarati Nababu' (i.e. Hazarat Nawab). Again, the Keeper of his seals is designated of the 'Nababu'. (A R. No. 375 of 1920, A.R.E. 1920-1, para 72).
5. CM. 228, 244-47; TG, 103-4; NAM. Ch.3, 90ff.
6. The Fort St. George records of 1670 indicate a similar system and

officers were stationed at Conjeeveram, Pulimella (Poonamallee) Palava-ram and Chingleput. CM. 227.

Details of the trunk road in Golkonda have been given in a masterly and meticulous manner by Prof. Sherwani. For convenience roads were flanked by shady trees and at every 500 paces stones were set up, which had to be whitewashed by the villagers.

Qutb Shahi Dyn. Ch. IV, Sec. 3 and notes thereon, pp. 501, 578-85, 567.

A league was about 3 miles.

7. Chamber's Narrative : Love I. 189.

8. EIM. 1937-38, pp. 52-54; EFI. IX. 262.

9. Cf. JASB. XIII (1844), 440-1 & n; Waris, 102a, b speaks of 43 lakhs (see ante-). Littleton and Venkata Brahman reported (Jan. 17, 1651) that revenue taken by Mir Jumla from the "the Jentue" was 40 hundred pagod as a year. EFI. IX. 12.

10. CM. 215-6, 227-8; Ch. 5; Hemingway, 210f; NAM 91-92.

11. *Adab*, 36b; Waris, 102b. *Storia* I. 232. Bernier, 17-18n; Catrou, 207; Manucci (*Storia*, iii. 242) says that in the Karnatak much treasure was buried by men of old times; Mir Jumla got some coins, the type of which was not definitely known, See *infra* the para on cannon founding. *Aurangzib* I. 124 Thevenot, Ch. 8, 102.

12. Tavernier's report dated 10th September, 1652. Ball I. 287. It is not clear from Tavernier how Mir Jumla could send men to work the diamond fields before occupation of the county, unless it is assumed that he acted only as the lessee for one year, but the question of ownership is not settled. However, the diamond mines of Vajrakarur in Gutti taluqa where his rule is attested by a stone inscription of Saka 1572/1650 belonged to Mir Jumla. Tavernier in 1652 ; ii. 42 n.

For location of the mines, see Ball, I. 287 n (and a map); II. Ch. 17; App. 1 & 2, & II. 86. Irving Brook's trans of Bernier, p. 24; MN 248-50; *Modern Review*, Sept. 1942.

12a. Roulkonda is Ramalikota, 18 m. west of Baganpalle in Karnul dt.; Kollur in Santanpalli taluqa of Guntur dt. Both are in Andhra Pradesh now. History & Working of mines in Tavernier (Cal. ed. 1905), 199, 320-32; Methwold in Moreland, *Relations*, 7, 30, 31; Sherwani, op. cit. 473-4, 575 n.

13. EFI. IX. 12 : for Bezoars, see Tevenot ch. 6, p. 99.

14. Vide the section on "Mir Jumla's [commercial activities]". for details. For monopoly, Love, I. 189 165-66; EFI X. 41, 93; IX. 22-23, 235, XXV; for customs free goods EFI. IX. 262-3; Pr. IHC 1939, 934-36; JIH (Aug. 1941), 157; AA, 148-9.

For Textile Industry : P. M. Joshi, Proc. I.H.C. 1941; J. Irwin, Jour. Ind. Textile Industry, nos. 1-4; Thevenot, 111, 146, 148; Moreland, *Relations*, 80; Tavernier (Cal. ed.) 301-2; Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company* . . . 272.

14a. My *Mir Jumla*, 51; EFI (1644-5), 14; Sherwani, *Qutb Shahi Dyn.* 482-3; Srinivasachari, *Hist. of Madras*, 34-5.

15. The claim by customs is an ordinary right of a suzerain power.

By the Naik's grant of Madras (22nd Aug. 1639), the English were to receive half the customs and revenues of the port and perpetual exemption from customs on Company's import and export trade. It was confirmed with some additional privileges by the grant of Sri Ranga (Oct. Nov. 1645). Records of 15th Aug. 1649 and 10th Nov. 1679 show that an *ad valorem* duty of 4 1/2% was levied at Madraspatam on all imports and exports irrespective of ownership. The entire receipts were credited to Fort St. George treasury, except only half of such amount as was received from traders, who were not inhabitants of the place. That half was payable to the native government. Love I. 68-70 & n; 17 & n; FFSG. 8, 33, 34, 42; Mir Jumla confirmed these privileges in June, 1647. See also my art in JIH Aug. 1941, pp. 144 ff.

16. EFI. IX. 235-6; Love I. 123, 130, 18, 68; FFSG. 8, 33.

17. Fort St. George records of 1670; CM. 227.

18. Love I. 131 & n, 128, 71 & n.

19. CM. 227.

20. Ball, I. 290-293.

21. Ball, I. 291-2, 293; MM. 92b-94. See *Adab* 87b, 82b-83a and GD (Sultan Md. to Qutb). For transport in Haidarabad see Thevenot 1686 ed.), 104.

21a. A copper-plate grant discovered in two parts at village Gundala in Gutti taluqa : (a) from its Reddi (re : Merchandise), No. 10 of 1920-21; (b) from its *Tacari* or *Taliyar* (re : theft), No. 12 of 1938-9. See N. Venkataramanayya in YCV. 225.

22. *Adab* 36b; Storia I. 232; Waris 102b; EFI. IX. 12; MN. 411 (1652 campaign) : The Rajputs of N. Arcot district claim to have come from Rajputana with Muhammadan armies. NAM. 267.

22a. *Adab*, 39a.

23. Macleod ii. 167, 177 in *Further* i; EFI 1642-, 44-5; HS for *dakchauki*. Sherwani, QSD. 455-6.

23a. *Arms and Armour* : Ball's Tavernier, I. 127-28; Sherwani, QSD. 464 based on HS.

Artillery, Bernier, QSD. *op. cit.*

24. *Europeans*, EFI. IX. 17, 43, n; 94, 100, 154; Love I. 99, 106; Hedges, III. 196. It was difficult for such men, lent by the E.I.C. to Mir Jumla, to get leave. EFI. X. 91. Bowrey (111) says that the high salary offered by Mir Jumla tempted many to desert Fort St. George colours and join his army. COM. 1650-54, p. 152; Catrou, 208 (Portuguese). An English gunner, Christopher Wilkins, was in Golkonda Service in 1662. EFI (1661-4), 175.

25. Ball (I. 288-90) says that the difficulty in melting the idols was due to the fact that they were made of iron and not of copper, See *Aurangzib* I. 194. For Claude Maille, gunfounder and surgeon of Mir Jumla, see Ball *op. cit.* I. 286, 116, 289, 301 n.

26. EFI. IX. 240. n.

27. EFI, X. 176. Is he to be identified with the Madura accountant of

the same name ? SVH. 325.

28. Ball, I. 239.

29. *mugasadars* in H.S., quoted in Sherwani 466, 571 n. A foot-soldier, carrying a musket and keeping two servants was paid five chequins, while a 'trooper' with two horses and four or five servants was paid 10 chequins. Thevenot, 140; Ball I. 285-6, 288-289, 291.

30. For range of trade, Report of Walter Littleton and Venkata Brahman (Jan. 17, 1651) in Love, I, 100; EFI. IX, 12; for shipbuilding, EFI. VI, 79-80, 168; VII. 88, 55. One of the agents of the Mir was named Virappa, EFI. IX. 262.

Peruk was to the south of Queda in Malay Peninsula and subject to the king of Acheen, Bowrey, 260n, 275n.

31. EFI. VI, 76-77, 51n, 56n, 255; Dutch sailors in EFI. VII. 69, 81, 234; VIII. 98, 139, 273; Dutch pilot, EFI. IX. 14, 256-7, 268-9. See. Pr. IHC (1939). 927-29, n.

32. Tabrezi, 147b; EFI. VI. 167-8 and n; 260, 71.

33. Danvers II. 301 (Portuguese), EFI X. 175.

34. Hall, 87 ff; Purchas V. 1004; Moreland, RKG. EFI. II. 338; V. 16, 146; VI. 94 Bowrey, 290, 275n.

35. Mir Jumla's letter to the Wazir of Pegu. Tabrezi, 147b.

36. Cogan affair, EFI. VIII. 98-99, 198; IX. 260, 263, 206-7 (using Dutch ship), 19. Mir Jumla secured the release of Richard Cogan, when the latter was imprisoned by the English Agent of Madras.

Burma was under the Toungoo dynasty (1531-1752). After 1628 the monarchy became weak and Upper Burma was twice overrun by the Ming and Manchu Chinese and five times by the Manipuris. Harvey. 192-99. Encyclo. Brit. (14th ed.) IV 430.

37. For Arrakan trade, Bowrey, 73, 245n, 222; *Cont.* 153a. SAR. 178, Manrique, ch. 23. For Mir Jumla's 2 letters to the Raja and proposal to send Kamran Beg, Tabrezi, 148b, 149a. This Mir Jumla-Arrakan correspondence is undated, but most probably it belonged to the period of the Mir's stay in the Karnatak. Probably the 23rd King of Arrakan Tsan da thu damma (acc. 1652) is referred to here as Dharmaraja. Vide Capt. A.P. Phayre's article, "On the History of Arakan" in JASB. XIII (1844), 23-52. Harvey, 145.

Tenassarim was also famous for elephants, Bowrey, 73, 179, 245n (customs taken).

38. For Acheen trade, EFI. VI. 167-8n; Bowrey, 288-9; for Bantam, Macassar, EFI. IX. 99, 290-1; Bowrey, 291 (slaves). Macassar was a free port and ships paid no customs, Ball's Tavernier. I. pt. II, 191. For Peruk, Bowrey, 283n, 252n, 267n, 280n; for Maldives, *Ibid.*, 104, 79.

39. EFI. VI. 30, n, 260, 71 (freight free); VII. 88, 67, 207-8 (customs free), 55; IX. 262, 220-22; for remission IX. 67, 117-118, 125-26; Shahbunder's strictness, *ibid.*, 157 and n, 206; also Hague Tr. series I, vol. 18, no. 549 in *ibid.*; opinion of Madras factors, *ibid.*, 228, 282; opinion of Surat factors, *ibid.*, 256-257, 268-9.

40. EFI. VII. 69, 81, 234; VIII. 98, 139 (*Darya Daulat*); for Mokha trade, Bowrey 103, 132n, 245n.

41. Vijaynagar trade in Ramanayya, SHTDV. ch. X; SVH. 57; VSCV. 220-24; *Storia*, III. 242; Commercial position of the English in India, Pr. IHC. (1939), 918-920; competition with the English, EFI. VI. 79-80; VII. 88, 55, 67; VIII. 98-99, 198.

42. Najf, the site of the tomb of Ali, is a place of pilgrimage for Shias. Tabrezi, 42a-43a, 70a-72b; *Mir Jumla-Iran Correspondence*, JBORS, June, 1942.

43. EIM. 1937-38. pp. 52-54. English factory records refer to Rustam Beg's plunder of a pagoda at Triplicane. Love I. 142 and n; EFI. IX, 262.

43a. The inscription is in front of the Anjaneya temple at Anumpalle (i.e., Anapalle) in Jagatapi Guttisima. AR. No. 375 of 1920, ARE 1920-21, Para 72.

44. EFI. IX. 12 (Littleton and Brahman's report); *Adab*, 39a; Thevenot, *op. cit*; *Aurangzib* I. 195.

SECTION C

Relation with the European Companies¹ (Till 1655)

1. Mir Jumla's diplomatic use of his own position

As Governor of Masulipatam since 1635-6, Mir Jumla viewed with jealousy the commercial concessions enjoyed by the English. By the Golden *Farman* of 1634 the English had secured complete exemption from all customs in the Golkonda kingdom on certain conditions, and the farmers of the Masulipatam customs had been allowed to pay 800 pagodas (about £ 400) less a year to the royal treasury by way of compensation for resultant loss. The *farman* was to become invalid if the duties payable by the English exceeded that amount. Concerned at the loss of customs revenues, owing to unlicensed practices on the part of the English East India Company's traders, Mir Jumla took steps against them, in co-operation with the Dutch, and acquainted the Sultan of their violation of the Golden *Farman*. Matters proceeded so far that the *Sar-i-Khail* ('Abdullah Khan Mazandarani) and the *dabir* (Mulla Wais) of the Golkonda court demanded from the English the excess over 800 pagodas, the stipulated yearly adatement.²

As *Sar-i-Khail* of Golkonda since 1637, Mir Jumla continued his efforts to prevent the loss to customs revenue of the state, arising from the illegal profits of the English by insisting on the

strict application of the Golden *Farman*. His outlook seems to have been legal and rational. But he moulded his policy as suited his own interests even at the cost of those of the State. Evasion of the *farman* continued in spite of the protests from Golkonda officials. In these circumstances, some sort of rapprochement, however unholy and unjustifiable, was considered to be necessary for mutual advantage. But it was Mir Jumla, who profited most by it. By the undue exercise of his virtually supreme authority, he threatened the English, who, however, did not fail to realise (May 18, 1638) that his threats were mere pretences for exaction of money.³

During September-December, 1641, the Governor of Masulipatam imposed an embargo on the lading of an English ship, in retaliation of the Danish seizure of the *Sar-i-Khail* Mir Jumla's junk on the principle of seeking satisfaction from one Christian nation for the capture of Masulipatam junks by another. Early in January, 1642, when the Danes released the junk on the satisfaction of their demands, the English also were granted liberty to lade their goods. The Dutch, in order to avoid such seizure of their own ships, and to have their goods always ready for shipment, employed small ships continually to fetch their goods. The Fort St. George factors suggested to the Company (Sept. 1642) the adoption of the same expedient for prosecution of their trade.⁴

Consequently as Mir Jumla became the most influential man in the State, whose friendship and aid were invaluable but displeasure feared, the European factors perceived the political and commercial advantages of keeping him appeased. In 1642 Mir Jumla closed the warehouses of the Dutch, forbade their sale of spices and subjected them to further "affronts" resulting in a great loss to them. Nevertheless they lent him 9 men and 2 pieces of ordnance to sail his junk for Persia and arranged to give a present worth 10,000 rials of eight to the Golkonda court.⁵ As regards the English, while they offered him presents, lent him men (pilots, sailors, gunners) and traded on his behalf by taking his goods in their own ships without charging freight and customs. Mir Jumla, in his turn, helped them on various occasions, by lending money, confirming their privileges, allowing them to use his ships and pilots and endeavoured to

increase the sense of their obligation to him.⁶ Thus he tried to use them as an instrument for the realisation of his commercial and political ambitions.

2. Financial Relations with the English

Mir Jumla occasionally borrowed money from the English factors, possibly with a view to financing his business enterprises (like farming of diamond mines, commercial ventures, building ships), furthering his political designs or creating an army of his own. The attempts of the English factors to recover the outstanding debts of Mir Jumla were not always successful. A sum of 3,000 pagodas (Rs. 10,500) was due from him by the beginning of 1638. In August, 1639, Andrew Cogan at Golkonda was asked by the Masulipatam factors to recover all debts but Cogan expressed his confidence that if it was a due debt, it would be "paid on demand". However, by November, 1640 Mir Jumla denied his liability for 1919 *pagodas* out of 2099, while acknowledging receipt of three jewels which he agreed to pay for on return.⁷

On the other hand Mir Jumla often assisted the English by loans of money when his funds were satisfactory. In 1642-3 borrowing in other ways being difficult at Masulipatam on account of the desertion of moneyed men due to Mir Jumla's attempted monopoly of trade there, the English factors decided to borrow 4 or 5 thousand *pagodas* from the Mir at Golkonda at an interest of 1.1/2% for 4 or 5 months. He also lent the English in Madras 10,000 (new) *pagodas* (or 16,000 rials of eight), possibly a part of his Karnatak plunder for six months with effect from 9th March, 1646. The amount was not repaid before 29th June, 1647, and Mir Jumla waived all claims of interest on receiving some presents, including a brass gun valued at 641 *pagodas* 8 *fanams*.⁸

3. Friction between Mir Jumla and the English

The relation between Mir Jumla and the English was not simply the usual one of a debtor and a creditor. As the former was the highest officer of the Golkonda State, the English had

to feel the weight of his influence in their transactions regarding the recovery of debts from local people, and they thought of combating it, if necessary, by force. Holding Mir Jumla responsible for the delay in realising their dues (10,000 pagodas) at Golkonda and Viravasaram in 1640, the English factors at Masulipatam thought of ensuring recovery by putting indirect pressure on him like seizure of his junks.⁹

Beneath the outward endeavours to placate Mir Jumla, who might otherwise be led to adopt stringent or adverse measures against the English, ran a current of deep internal hatred towards him. Friction with the Golkonda officials, who prevented the English from receiving from the local merchants and manufactures the goods for which they had contracted, was "frequent and bitter." Mir Jumla was accused (Feb. 1638) of treating the English factor at Golkonda in a "base way" and of dealing unjustly with the English factors of Masulipatam in matters relating to the town of Malloule (Mallovol) near it.¹⁰ All the complaints of the English factors were not, however, justified. Mir Jumla was accused (July, 1638) of instigating the Governor of Masulipatam to adopt measures of reprisal against Captain Weddell and Mountney of the Courteen's Association. But it was they who unjustly claimed that exemption from customs granted to the East India Company should be extended to them and opened artillery fire on the city of Masulipatam on being denied access to the shore by the local officials.¹¹

4. The Company's efforts to improve their position

The Company tried to escape from its embarrassing position at Masulipatam by selecting a safer station on the coast further south, within the Vijaynagar dominions, and by endeavouring to get a new *farman* from the Sultan for grant of fresh commercial privileges to the English. The first attempt led to the immediate foundation of Fort St. George, and the second to the mission of Andrew Cogan from Surat to Golkonda.

During the mission of Andrew Cogan, *Sar-i-Khail* Mir Jumla helped him in various ways and showed him respect. This struck Andrew Cogan as very unusual in view of the different descriptions previously given to him about his charac-

ter by the Masulipatam factors. Cogan presented a piece of ambergris to Mir Jumla and exultingly wrote (to Bantam, Sept. 3, 1639) that if any occasion arose for the Company to use the *Sar-i-Khail*, the present would certainly "be repaid a thousand fold". Mir Jumla also gave a special letter to the Governor of Masulipatam, commanding him to receive and use Cogan with respect.¹²

5. Effects of the conquest of the Karnatak on Mir Jumla's relations with the Europeans

The conquest of the Karnatak by Mir Jumla profoundly influenced his relations with the Europeans on the East Coast. The English found their erstwhile commercial rival and governor gradually transformed into almost their overlord. Fear of Mir Jumla, the necessity of checking the pretensions of his ministers and the need of protection during a period of wars contributed to the rapid strengthening of the Fort St. George fortifications.¹³ But Mir Jumla then wisely refrained from manifesting any hostile designs against the English and showed an inclination to be on friendly terms with them. The latter also, in their turn, were anxious to get the favour and protection of the Mir and to obtain from the new government confirmation of all the old privileges granted to them by the Hindu power. Thus, realising that the Karnatak must inevitably pass from Vijaynagar to Golkonda, Ivy, the English Agent at Madras (Aug. 1644-Sept. 1648), hastened to make an *entente cordiale* with the stronger power. In 1646, when Mir Jumla formed a camp in the vicinity of Madras for the siege of San Thome, Ivy lent him a gunner and several soldiers, assisted him in many ways and presented him with a brass gun. In return, Mir Jumla confirmed on behalf of the Sultan of Golkonda, the existing *qaul* (regarding the grant of Madras) and privileges of the English (June, 1647).¹⁴

The Dutch at Pulicat also had their privileges confirmed by the Mir and even secured some financial concessions from him. The Portuguese also obtained better financial privileges from him than from the Hindus.¹⁵ About 1648 a ship of Mir Jumla was driven by storm to Masulipatam, and he wanted to utilise the

Dutch or English ships for his commercial journeys.¹⁶

6. Missions of the European Companies to Mir Jumla

About 1650-1, Mir Jumla, being displeased with the Dutch, wanted to frustrate their commercial aims by trying to become a monopolist himself in cloth trade, and to enter into a commercial agreement or contract with the English East India Company, by which they would get their supplies of piecegoods from his agents and "share with him in the profits of voyages made to Persia and other parts."¹⁷

Mir Jumla refused to meet a Dutch mission at Gandikota in September, 1650, but courteously received an English mission under Venkata Brahman. He represented to the English that by joining him they would profit immensely, and would even "enjoy the whole trade" i.e. just as he would monopolise the production, control the prices, and be the sole stockist, the English would become the sole distributors of articles of trade available in the Coast. He also tried to incite the English against the Dutch by explaining to the former that the latter wanted to exclude the English from any share in the Coromandal trade by "overbuying and underselling" the English. Agent Greenhill responded to Mir Jumla's offer by sending the same broker, Venkata Brahman, with Walter Littleton on another mission in December, 1650. In their joint report (Jan. 17, 1651), they testified to Mir Jumla's "real affection" towards the English, his desire to form a long-term agreement, and assist the Company's business operations by a free loan of money (50 or 60,000 pagodas). They also held that the conclusion of the agreement would be highly beneficial to the Company's trade and would lead to the frustration of the aims of the Dutch. The Mir delivered to the brokers, a letter addressed to the English East India Company, together with some presents consisting of "3000 pieces of long cloth and Sallampoores."¹⁸

Having so far maintained friendly relations with the Dutch, Mir Jumla now wanted to strike at them by winning over the English to his side. It was quite natural for him to offer generous loans to the English, for he had acquired the immense Karnatak plunder, which he had tried to put to a profitable

investment in this matter. At the same time he sought to pose as a real benefactor of the Company and thereby earn its gratitude and sense of obligation which could be used in an emergency.

But the Agent and his council, in consultation with the Masulipatam factors (Feb. 19, 1651) became sceptical of the wisdom of the agreement. They held that it would be safest to agree to that proposal of Mir Jumla by which he agreed to take all their goods from Europe in return for cloth and other articles of the Karnatak at rates to be fixed later. They deferred their final decision till the arrival of President Baker, and hoped that, if the Company decided to entertain Mir Jumla's offer, they would empower the President, Agent &c. "to treat and conclude (an agreement) with the Nawab." Meanwhile in January, 1651, Venkata Brahman was again deputed to the Nawab at Gandikota to learn what goods might be expected for the next shipping and what price was to be fixed for those already supplied to them by Mir Jumla.

The Company's reply came about a year later. They avoided "any pledge to make all their purchases from Mir Jumla's agents," but agreed to give "preference" to them, though this would not cover any concession regarding freight. In the summer of 1652, Littleton and Venkata again went to Mir Jumla, probably with the Company's reply, and "met with a seemingly friendly reception." The Company disapproved of the concessions already given to Mir Jumla by the factors. But as his request was as good as command, the Company suggested to the latter to rectify the mistake in future and to endeavour to secure the usual rate if possible.¹⁹

During 1651-2 a Dutch mission under Dirck Steur praying for enlargement of privileges and permission to rent some towns and to trade without payment of customs in return for a large sum of money, was received by Mir Jumla, but he referred the question to the Sultan, then at Gandikota. Moreover, he refused to allow the Dutch to fortify Pulicat, though he renewed their privileges. On the other hand he allowed the English factors to strengthen the defences of Fort St. George. But he was careful to see that the English did not become too strong to defy his authority. Thus the English Agent of Fort St. George, who

insisted on building a *bankshall* with lime and stone instead of straw as permitted by Mir Jumla, had ultimately to submit to the payment of a heavy fine of 200 pagodas.²⁰ As the Dutch began to suffer reverses in Europe during the first Anglo-Dutch War, their position became unfavourable in Persia, Bengal and other places; they were also reported to be turned out of their trade with Japan. About 1654 Mir Jumla resented the Dutch refusal to grant passes to Indian ships trading with Ceylon, Achin and other places where the Dutch were seeking to establish their own trade monopoly. They even captured a ship of Mir Jumla sailing to Macassar under Portuguese protection. This strained the relations of the Dutch with Mir Jumla and the king of Macassar almost to the breaking point (April, 1654). Mir Jumla threatened to attack Pulicat if the ship was not restored. He was not completely pacified, even though the Dutch promised to do so and also to grant passes to ships sailing to Achin and some other places.²¹ The English factors in Persia requested the Company to send a strong fleet to cause greater embarrassment to the Dutch.²²

Mir Jumla's attitude towards the other Europeans was not so bitter. Tavernier and his party visited Mir Jumla at Gandikota in September, 1652 (NS) in order to sell some jewels to the Sultan. The Mir enquired of them whether his personal jewels (lasques) contained in 5 small bags were vendible in Europe and agreed to write to his son at Golkonda on behalf of the party.²³

During the critical period of Mir Jumla's rebellion²⁴ against the Sultan of Golkonda (1653-55), the former did not want to be embroiled with the English. However, he had necessarily to endeavour to augment his financial resources and secure commercial and economic advantages in relation to the East India Company. Moreover, he was anxious to engage the attention of the Company in their internal preoccupations, by abetting the caste disputes (c. April, 1655), by refusing to decide them, even when they were referred to him, and by utilising the dissensions in the Madras Council for his own advantage so as to prevent them from sending any help to the Raja of Chandra-giri, whose dominions he was consolidating as his own or to the Sultan of Golkonda. These are but faint beginnings of a rupture between Mir Jumla and the English, which widened

subsequently.²⁵

7. Relations with the Portuguese

While in the Karnatak Mir Jumla was on terms of "great friendship" with Dom Filippe Mascarenhas, the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa (1645-51). There was an active correspondence and exchange of presents between them. The Mir highly prized the "armes blanches"—a breast-plate, a morion and a sword, sent by the Viceroy, and used them for necessary purposes in battle. In return, he sent many jewels and diamonds procured out of the Karnatak mines, and sometimes he sold his best diamonds to the Portuguese. Thus did Mir Jumla endeavour to remain on good terms with the Portuguese, with a view to utilising their assistance, if required, in some future contingencies.²⁶

But Mir Jumla did not spare the Portuguese settlement of San Thome during his conquest of the Karnatak. His blockade of it and its sequel produced considerable damages on the Portuguese and his officers seized their "grounds and gardens" outside the town and appropriated their revenues on behalf of their Master. In January, 1651, they were, however, restored except the revenues of a Church valued at 2,000 rials a year. The Fort. St. George factors believed that this was a fine imposed on the Portuguese padres for disallowing, in violation of an old custom, the procession of a Hindu God before their Church outside the City.²⁷

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Further details on this topic are contained in my articles on (i) *Early Relations of Mir Jumla with the English (up to 1650)* in Pr. IHC. (1939). 918-949; (ii) *English Mission to Mir Jumla (1650-2)* in IHQ, XVI. 773-82; (iii) *The English in Madras and Mir Jumla (1652-55)* in Pr. IHC. (1940), 257-63; JIH (Aug, 1941.)
2. Bruce, 315-6, 326, 342-3; EFL. IV. 84-5, xi; V, 14-21, 325-6, xxxiv; FFSG. 1-4; Pr, IHRC (1942) 106, for identification of 'Sar-i-Khail' and

'Malliveece' of the English factory records.

3. EFI. VI. 79-80, 75-76 ; V. 325-6 ; FFSG, 14, 4.
4. EFI. VI. 316 ; VII. 42, 48.
5. BDR. 1641-42, p. 306, in EFI. VII. 80-1.
6. EFI. V. 325-6 ; VI. 43 (Mir Jumla's property not to be detained, 1638), 220-22, 142-3, 76, 77 ; VII. 81.

The English acquiesced in the practice of taking Mir Jumla's goods without freight of customs out of considerations of some practical advantages accruing therefrom. EFI. VI. 71 ; VII. 55. Mir Jumla pretended that the goods belonged to the Sultan and should be landed free of customs in return for the immunities and privileges enjoyed by the English in the Golkonda ports (Swally Marine letter, Nov. 18, 1644). EFI. VII. 207-8.

7. EFI. VI. 49, 52, 146-8, 147n, 72, 266, 256 ; II. 221n.
8. EFI. VI. 77, 220-1 ; VII. 69, 79 ; VIII. 166-67, 213-4, xxvii-xxix ; Love, I. 76n, 97-98 ; FFSG. 1-2, 37.
9. EFI. VI. 146, 162-3, 255, 190-191.

10. Epithets used against Mir Jumla, EFI. V. 32 ; VI. 49 ; 75-6, 78-9, 163, 142-3, 200 and n ; friction in Bruce I. 360 ; FFSG. 4 ; Complaints, EFI. VI. 49, xxxi-xxxii. Malloval had been rented by English from May, 1634, but they were ordered by the Sultan to surrender the lease (c. 1636-7) and as they objected to do so without compensation, the English factor at Golkonda was dragged out of his house, by order of the Sultan's 'Secretary', well beaten and imprisoned (BDR. 1637, p. 94, in *ibid.*, 52-3).

11. EFI. VI. 78-9, xxxii-xxxiii ; FFSG. 4n ; for Weddell, Bruce I. 340-2, 350, 357 ff ; COM. 1635-9, pp. 337-38, 127-29 ; RBPE. 38-9 ; Morse, I. Ch. 2.

12. Company's position, Bruce I. 360, 368-9 ; EFSG, 4 ; for Cogan's mission, EFI. VI. 143-4, 145, 148, 162-4, 200 ; Love I. 13-14, n ; See Pr. IHC, 1939 for Cogan's attributes bestowed on Mir Jumla (pp. 944-45).

13. EFI. VIII. 70, xxv, 25, 26 ; Love, I. 192, 76, 147, 105 ; Bruce I. 377, 378, 424-5, 430, 454-5 ; FFSG. 15, 16, 18-20, 25.

14. Bruce I. 415 ; EFI. VIII. xxvii-xxix, (brass gun), 25, 166-7 (confirmation) ; X. 4 ; Love I. 75-77, 79.

15. EFI. IX. 238.

16. Tabrezi, 69a.

17. EFI. IX. 232, 133, xxv ; Love, I. 100-101 ; Cf. Bruce I, 454-5. The English factory records state the following to be the reasons for Mir Jumla's hostility towards the Dutch :

- (i) The Dutch aimed at monopolising the whole trade of India ; (EFI. IX. 13).
- (ii) They interfered with the Mir's trade at Queda and Achin, Formerly he used to buy spices from the Dutch at his own prices and prevented other merchants from coming to them. But the Batavia authorities ordered that the goods should be stored in their godowns till the Mir himself would or allow others to purchase them at the high rates prescribed by the Dutch. The Mir was thus deprived of

the profitable spice trade (*ibid.*, XXV. 22-24).

- i) ii) Mir Jumla's letter to the Dutch Governor General had remained unnoticed for three years (*ibid.*, XXV. 13). The Governor of Pulicat had insolently boasted that the Dutch could easily acquire this country. As the Mir prohibited the Dutch from trading within his own jurisdiction (*ibid.*, 13), they tried to induce the Mir to reopen the trade and sent a mission to him in the autumn of 1650.

18. EFL. IX. xxv, 22-23, 12-13, (Mir's representation), 44, 261 ;VIII, xxxii ; Love I, 99; 100-101.

19. Pros and Cons of the offer, EFL. IX. 22-24, 261 (arts 35-37), 262 (art 56), 44 ; Mission of Jan. 1651, *ibid.*, 48-9 ; Company's reply, 232-33 ; *vide* IHQ (Dec. 1940) 779-82. COM. 1650-54, p. 149.

The Court of Committees for the United Joint Stock decided to spend £ 100 on a present to Mir Jumla and requisitioned 'a very rich saddle' from one Mr. Greene (Dec. 23, 1651). *Ibid.* 142.

20. HT. Ser. I. Vol. 18, no. 539, 542, 543 ; EFL. IX. xviii-xxix ; pp. 99, 156 ff, 261, 290-1, 204-5, n, 96 ; Love I. 112, 114-116, 141, 154, 104-5, n ; Bruce I. 451-99 (occasional references) ; see my article on *The English in Madras and Mir Jumla 1652-55* in Pr. IHC. 1940 and JIH. Aug. 1941.

21. HT. Series I, vol. 18 (550(i), EFL. IX. xxiii-xxxiv.

22. FFL. IX. 269-70, In December, 1655, the English E. I. Company petitioned to the Protector and his council "for licence to transport to the Coast of Coromandel for the use of the Nabob or Governor there ten suits of armour, thirty sword-blades, twenty blunderbusses, and fifteen pair of horsemen's pistols, and for directions to be given to the Commissioners of Customs to allow these to pass". (COM. 1655-59, pp. 70, 72). This may be regarded as an endeavour of the Company to secure Mir Jumla's goodwill and thereby take advantage of his displeasure with the Dutch. The East Coast factors must have pressed the authorities in England for these when he was still formally in the Golkonda state service.

23. Ball I. 259, 261, 286-7, 293 ; EFL. IX. xxxvii-xxxix. Tavernier and his party were kindly received by a Captain of Mir Jumla at Tirupati (Aug. 1652, NS), when he learnt that they were not Dutchmen. Ball I. 273.

24. Discussed in Ch. 3.

25. Caste disputes (1652-3), Love I. 118-21, 123 ; for details, See JIH. 1941 (Aug.).

26. The presents of the Viceory included different kinds of brocade and porcelain from China and curious from Japan. *Storia*, I. 232 n ; Bernier 17 and n ; for Dom Philippe, Danvers, II. 287, 302 ; Catrou, 207.

27. HT. Series I, Vol. xvii, no. 530 in EFL. IX. 18.

The Rebellion of Mir Jumla

1. Causes of friction between Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla

The conquest of the Karnatak had at once transformed the status of Mir Jumla from that of a courtier of a powerless Sultan to one of an almost independent and strong ruler, secure at a long distance from his master's capital. Following Bernier, who writes that the jealousy of the Sultan was "naturally awakened" at this, European historians have generally supposed that Qutb Shah grew suspicious of his Wazir's strength and position. But it is doubtful if the Sultan himself had at first foreseen the potential dangers to his own power on account of Mir Jumla's conquest of the Karnatak and his consequent influence there. For, as we have seen before, the Sultan, flushed with Mir Jumla's success, had lavished all possible favours on his victorious minister-general. Moreover, the Sultan had nurtured,—as he wrote sometime afterwards to the ruler of Persia,—the sapling of the adventurer Mir Muhammad Said into the mighty tree of the Mir Jumla or Wazir of Golkonda, and expressed surprise that the latter should have chosen to betray him. In fact, the Sultan's subsequent feelings of suspicion and distrust regarding his Wazir were not born of his spontaneous consciousness of the latter's ambitions. They were the outcome of the persistent machinations of a section of his Deccani courtiers, jealous of Mir Jumla's wealth

and dizzy eminence and angry at the consequent exclusiveness or haughtiness in the Mir's attitude towards 'those who were near and equal to him'. It might, however, be argued that Mir Jumla was not usually a man of insolent temperament and that some degree of exclusiveness which was now inevitable due to a change in his position might be construed as aloofness from one's equals.

These malevolent enemies of Mir Jumla endeavoured to undermine the influence of the Wazir in his absence by diligently inciting the Sultan against him by whispering 'far-fetched things' about him. Some contemporary European travellers have referred to rumours of "the improper intimacy" between Mir Jumla and the Queen Mother, Hayat Bakhshi Begum, and have hinted that the Sultan could not brook this violation of the honour of his family and became alienated from his Wazir. Nizamuddin Ahmad Shirazi, the author of *Hadiqat us Salatin*, observes that Mir Jumla, as the *Sar-i-Khail*, had performed many services on behalf of the Queen Mother, and that exchange of presents between them became frequent. But the public nature of such exchanges precludes the possibility of any illicit relation between them. Both were past middle age then. Again, Mir Jumla was away from the Court. Moreover, the general trend of Mir Jumla's character does not warrant the story. So, in the absence of any corroborative evidence in any other class of contemporary sources, it must be regarded as a figment of the imagination of scandal-mongers. As a matter of fact, the estrangement between the two was due to the evil machinations of the jealous courtiers. According to Tavernier, the courtiers told the Sultan "that the power of Mir Jumla should cause him to be suspected, that all his actions tended towards dethroning him and securing the Kingdom of Golkonda for his son; and that he must not wait till the evil had grown beyond remedy; and that in order to rid himself of an enemy—the more dangerous because he concealed himself—the shortest way was to poison him."

This view of the brewing of Mir Jumla's rebellion is supported by a letter written by Emperor Shah Jahan to Qutb Shah, after the Mir's appointment as the Mughal Wazir. Herein the Emperor administers a veiled rebuke and casts a satiric

fling at Qutb Shah's folly in alienating such an able officer as Mir Jumla and expresses a corresponding elation at his own wisdom in harnessing his services to the cause of the Empire. The Emperor writes : "A useful and experienced official is rare these days, especially a man of the type of Muazzam Khan, who can hold candle to any able and skilful wazir of my court. His merit should, therefore, be adequately recognised". Shah-jahan continues: "It is inadvisable to pay heed to the words of the enemies and self-seeking persons, who cannot be expected to perform any duty and do not look to the well-being of their masters, and only have an eye to their own interests and turn our friends into enemies; the protection of one's own life, family and honour is the bounden duty of all."

Signs of friction between the Sultan and his Wazir probably manifested themselves soon after the Mir's conquest of Gandikota (1650). The war between the two Sultans over the partition of the Karnatak (1651-2), ending in the defeat of Mir Jumla and the subsequent restoration by 'Adil Shah of Gandikota to him and not to Qutb Shah, might very well be regarded as the beginning of friction between the Sultan of Golkonda and his Wazir. Sir Jadunath accurately pin-points the source of estrangement thus : Qutb Shah, too, naturally wished to have a share of his Wazir's gains. In the conquest of the Karnatak the two had acted as partners. Mir Jumla had supplied the brain and leadership while the Sultan had lent him the necessary men and money and protection of his name, in the first stage at all events. They now quarrelled about the profits. Qutb Shah tried to treat Mir Jumla as a mere servant and to escheat to the State what he had acquired in its service. Mir Jumla, on the other hand, knowing how weak and worthless his master was, regarded the conquest entirely as his own work and his gains as the fruits of his own exclusive toil. After having tested regal independence in the Karnatak he was loath to return to the life of a courtier." Mir Jumla, disappointed in getting the preferment from the Sultan in return for his services, intended to retain the territories he conquered. If he could accomplish this desire, he would, as the English factors observed, 'soon be as great a king as his master'. The enraged Sultan then endeavoured 'to sap the foundations of Mir Jumla's inde-

pendent or sovereign pretensions by treating the latter's conquests as his own and so dispossessing him of his riches. Inscriptional evidence indicates that down to September, 1653, there was no open rupture between the Sultan and Mir Jumla as the latter was described therein as the former's 'agent'. But within a year the English factors at Fort St. George found him 'up in arms' against his master.

Growing suspicious of Mir Jumla, Qutb Shah began to regard the Wazir "as a dangerous rival rather than an obedient servant" and "eagerly but silently sought an opportunity" to destroy him or remove him from his presence. The unceasing admonitions of his courtiers that the evil must be nipped in the bud before it was too late, added fuel to fire. Though, being surrounded by persons, devoted to the Wazir, the Sultan "felt the prudence of concealing his intentions", yet in an unguarded moment he gave vent to his feelings of vengeance against him. The latter, then in the Karnatak, was soon informed of the impending danger by "his own and his wife's relations and friends", who filled every important office at Court.¹

A parallel has sometimes been drawn between Mir Jumla's estrangement from Qutb Shah and Shivaji's efforts to be independent of Bijapur. But it is not quite apt. Mir Jumla's rebellion in establishing his own independence lacked the historical and national background of Shivaji's movement.^{1a}

2. Mir Jumla's Diplomatic Intrigues

Aware of his master's wrath, Mir Jumla, a cautious and far-seeing man, felt the need of self-protection even before the actual crisis and was not at all willing to pay court to Qutb Shah, "whom he no longer regarded as his master but as the greatest of his enemies." Probably his first natural impulse on becoming aware of the Sultan's suspicions was to be prepared to return to his home country and to forestall Qutb Shah in an endeavour to secure the goodwill of the Court of Iran. About 1653 he wrote two letters of friendship to Khalifa-i-Sultan, the Wazir of Persia, referring to the cultural bonds of affinity existing between them and to the services he had rendered to the Shah. Pinning his hopes on those services, he also sent a peti-

tion to Shah Abbas II of Persia, professing sincere attachment and offering to enter the Persian royal service, so that he might safely go back, together with all his accumulated wealth in case the situation in the Karnatak became too hot for him. In reply the Shah expressed his appreciation of his "sincere services," and gave formal assurance of help "at the right moment." But, in reality the Shah, not deeming it politic to openly espouse the cause of a rebellious vassal of a brother-king, advised him at the same time to strengthen the friendly relations with Qutb Shah.²

But this gesture of help from the Shah of Persia came too late, and was too vague to be of any use to Mir Jumla. Moreover, he could not have been under any illusion about the arrival of timely help from Persia. Hence he had to look for shelter nearer his sphere of activities. He first considered the Rayal, his or his master's erstwhile enemy, but the nearest ruler to be the most suitable man to be approached, and so he tried to purchase his support by promising him immunity from invasion. At the same time, as a counterpoise to Qutb's hostility, Mir Jumla had already won over some of his generals and soldiers in the Karnatak. He also offered, with some presents 'as an earnest', to transfer his allegiance to 'Adil Shah of Bijapur and to hold the Karnatak as his gift. The latter was elated at the prospect of securing 'such a precious servant, the ablest man in the Deccan since Malik Ambar's time.'³

It was by these "arts of finesse and tricks of diplomacy", that Mir Jumla was defending himself against his master till a completely new turn was given to his policy by the cautious and secret overtures of Aurangzeb. Indeed, if he himself had so long approached various powers far and near, in and outside the Deccan, he now came to be courted by the Mughals. To Aurangzeb the co-operation and counsel of the able prime minister of Golkonda was invaluable for the realisation of his secret ambition of conquering that rich state. He had tried to win over Mir Jumla even as early as the capture of Wandiwash. Mir Jumla, too, had probably realised the potentialities of this move and expressed to Aurangzeb's ambassador the hope that "the door of correspondence, friendship and love would always remain open",⁴. Keeping himself informed of the growing

estrangement of the Sultan from his minister, Aurangzeb began a secret correspondence with the latter, through 'Abdul Latif (brother of Mu'izzulmulk), the Mughal *hajib* at Golkonda. Mir Jumla, so long on the defensive, could now think of taking an offensive against all his recent foes. Smarting under the humiliation of defeat at the hands of Adil Shah, and being forced to receive Gandikota as a gift from him, Mir Jumla had naturally desired to retrieve his lost honour through diplomacy. His refusal to grant a right of passage to Jinji to the Bijapuri general, Khan Muhammad, his intrigues with Mysore and overtures to the Rayal might well be regarded as measures of this diplomacy. But the master-stroke of his policy was his proffered mediation with the Mughals on behalf of the Rayal through correspondence with Aurangzeb. Zahur writes that "Sri Ranga had created trouble in the fort of Vellore, and through correspondence, made Mir Jumla his own *Wakil* and for his own self agreed to pay.....*peshkash* to the Mughals. Mir Jumla had also taken the responsibility in this affair and he was tempting the Mughals by all means to help the Raja."⁵ About 1653, the Rayal, evidently persuaded by Mir Jumla, sent his confidential Brahman agent, named Srinivas, to Aurangzeb, with a petition addressed to the Emperor, professing willingness to embrace Islam and to remit to him, besides an annual tribute in cash and kind, 50 *lakh huns*, 200 elephants, and some costly jewels, in return for protection of his territories from the aggression of the Sultans.⁶

By such a course of policy Mir Jumla would not only win over the Rayal to stand by him in an emergency, but would gain a diplomatic victory over Adil Shah and avenge himself on his own master, Qutb Shah. To Aurangzeb, Mir Jumla's mediation revealed a vista of new possibilities. The appeal of the Rayal offered him an excellent opportunity to serve the cause of Islam and to put pressure on the two Sultans to disgorge a share of their abundant spoils of war in the Karnatak, in the form of a suitable *peshkash*, which they had not yet paid to the Mughals in return for the imperial sanction of its conquest. Thus the acceptance of the Rayal's offer would mean immense spiritual and material gains for the Empire.⁷ Moreover it increased his chances of seducing Mir Jumla over to his side.

Aurangzeb instructed his *hajib* to ply Mir Jumla, who "had always displayed devotion and submission to the imperial court", with offers of imperial munificence, to persuade him to join the imperial service, and to send a report of his resources and military strength to the Emperor. At the same time it was necessary for Aurangzeb to induce the Emperor to agree to win over Mir Jumla as the Emperor's hands were tied by the 'ahd (or treaties) of 1636, according to which he could not seduce the officers of the Sultans, and as Dara, opposed to Aurangzeb, was trying to persuade the Emperor not to offer any assistance to Mir Jumla. But Aurangzeb pleaded that, though Mir Jumla scrupulously insisted on secrecy, he was sincere in his profession of devotion to the imperial service. Imam Wardi Beg, probably an agent of Mir Jumla, had also previously spoken to the Emperor of his good faith. Finally, convinced of Mir Jumla's "faith in the imperial court", the Emperor became desirous of conciliating him and instructed Aurangzeb to order whatever he considered necessary for the welfare of Mir Jumla and his family, though as yet the Emperor did not commit himself to appointing him in the imperial service. Aurangzeb, therefore, offered to send to Mir Jumla a strong imperial squadron so that fears of a hostile combination of the Sultans might not deter him from joining the Mughals.⁸

In the meantime events had moved apace in Golkonda, precipitating quick action on the part of Aurangzeb. When Mir Jumla, in deference to Qutb Shah's summons, once went rather reluctantly to Golkonda, the Sultan conspired with some malicious courtiers to kill the Wazir. Mir Jumla, forewarned by his son, extricated himself with great artifice from the clutches of the Sultan and repaired to the Karnatak, resolving never to visit him again. The Sultan, "learning of his secret resolve", continued calling him back with increasing persistence. But all this only enhanced the Wazir's suspicions and proved unavailing. At last "the curtain was removed from the face of the affair". Qutb Shah openly undertook to imprison and crush his rebel Wazir, who retained the Karnatak conquests, and the Shahi army there.

Believing that Mir Jumla had not been properly approached, the Emperor enquired of Aurangzeb why he had gone to the

Karnatak. Aurangzeb reviewed the whole situation and explained that the Mir was compelled to go to the Karnatak, because Mughal support was not yet forthcoming. No body could have hindered him from joining the Mughals, if he had first been assured of it. Mere professions of conciliation, without effective help, proved futile. Aurangzeb evidently felt that the time for quick action had arrived, and sent a letter to Mir Jumla through his officer, Sayyid Ahmad, asking him to openly join the latter and assuring him that he would intercede with the Emperor for saving him from his enemies. On his own initiative Aurangzeb commissioned Muhammad Mumin, who was then, according to the imperial mandate, going to Sri Ranga Rayal, to visit the Mir as well. Mir Jumla now sent a petition to the Emperor for an imperial messenger and it was forwarded by Aurangzeb.⁹

3. Mission of Muhammad Mumin

The news of the appeal of the Rayal to the Emperor, his willingness to accept Islam and the deputation to him of a sagacious Mughal ambassador, Muhammad Mumin Safdarkhani, in 1653-4, caused a flutter in the minds of the Sultans. They feared that they would lose all their recent conquests in the Karnatak. 'Adil Shah was alarmed into hurrying with his conquests and became fully prepared to take Mir Jumla in his pay. Qutb Shah now tried his best to appease Mir Jumla by restoring to him his posts and *mahals*. But it was too late now. The astute Wazir, already approached by the Mughals, avowed that, after the expiry of two years, he would either attend on Qutb Shah or resign his posts and go on pilgrimage to the holy sanctuaries. But Mir Jumla, as his son and deputy at Haidarabad, Muhammad Amin, assured Aurangzeb sometime afterwards, did not really feel safe under Qutb Shah and had made the above agreement only as it was "good and proper for the occasion". Therefore, Aurangzeb suggested to the Emperor that an open gesture of protection would make him join the imperial service now.¹⁰

But it did not prove to be so easy as Aurangzeb had expected. Mir Jumla adopted towards him the same dilatory tactics

as towards Qutb Shah. Aurangzeb had exhorted Muhammad Mumin to discuss matters with him, and ply him with hopes and encouragement by all the arts he commanded till he felt satisfied about his willingness to join the Mughals. Aurangzeb had already endeavoured to prepare the ground by sending Sayyid Ahmad to him and writing to Mir Jumla, flattering him on his 'good faith' and condemning the Sultan's unjust treatment of him. He expected that "after the outward obstacle" was removed Mir Jumla would "not give up the skirt of the Empire", because of the expected benefits. In short, Aurangzeb urged upon him "to open his mind unreservedly" before the ambassador and not to lose the chance of getting a high post in the imperial service. But the shrewd Wazir, apprehending a coalition of the two Sultans against him in case he joined the Mughals, did not commit himself irrevocably without receiving definite terms from the Emperor. He, therefore, after his interview with Muhammad Mumin, decided to submit a secret petition to the Emperor, which Muhammad Mumin sent to Aurangzeb. In forwarding it to the Emperor, Aurangzeb stated that Mir Jumla had not yet accepted any offer of his and begged the Emperor to state the terms of appointment, e.g., his rank, time of bringing him under a suitable escort and the possibility of receiving additional troops for the purpose. But Shahjahan's hesitation in replying to Mir Jumla alarmed him and made him sceptical of the Emperor's intentions. Aurangzeb had, therefore, to endeavour to lessen Mir Jumla's suspense. Secret messages were exchanged between them by active couriers. An agent of Aurangzeb, carrying his *nishan* to conciliate the Mir, returned after 20 days, together with the latter's reply and 2 footmen. Aurangzeb sent it to the Emperor for orders and replied to Mir Jumla by assuring him of the greatest imperial favours.

At long last, in 1654, the Emperor, yielding to Aurangzeb's repeated importunities, agreed to take Mir Jumla under his protection, only if he would come to the imperial court. He proposed to send a confidential agent with a *farman* to bring Mir Jumla and another, to forbid Qutb Shah to prevent the Wazir and his son from entering the Mughal service.

Mir Jumla now hung back and prayed for a year's respite

and that for some very cogent personal reasons. He had to collect his property still lying scattered at different ports. He had to redeem his pledge to his old master. He must feel secure from the fear of reprisal from the Sultans who wanted him and whom he evaded ; and the secret of his understanding with the Mughals must not be disclosed.

On learning of Mir Jumla's objections, Aurangzeb requested the Emperor not to send any agent with *farmans* and suggested that it would be advisable to await the return of Muhammad Mumin to hear from him the reasons for Mir Jumla's procrastination. He also urged the Emperor to keep these intrigues secret, because if the two Sultans came to know of Mir Jumla's intention, they would "not desist from any pretence or fraud to prevent him from getting this high honour" (i.e. kill him) and it would be difficult to chastise the Sultans, who were combined in this matter. At the same time he advised Mir Jumla (13th Jan. 1655) to quickly dispose of his pending tasks and not to forsake his resolve to come under imperial protection.¹¹

On Muhammad Mumin's return Aurangzeb wrote to the Emperor on the strength of his report : "The truth about Mir Jumla is that he outwardly professes that he has no shelter except the imperial court and he would start for it, after collecting his property, but from his actions and demeanour it appears that this intention is not from the core of his heart. As he has got hold over a populous kingdom containing forts, ports and mines (besides a strong army, ample resources and able officers), he has not reconciled himself with his old master and has disgusted the Sultan of Bijapur by declining to enter his service. His profession of submission to the imperial court is just a matter of policy and so long as he can dexterously avert the hostility of the two Sultans, he will not leave that country and turn to any other place.....Having won over the *Zamin-dars* of the Karnatak with courtesy and beneficence, and making friendship with Ikhlās Habshi.....Mir Jumla is passing his days with much care and caution."¹²

In fact Mir Jumla was in a strong diplomatic position. Aurangzeb fully realised it and tried to explain matters to the Emperor. But the conciliatory tone of his correspondence with Mir Jumla even after the return of Muhammad Mumin shows

that Aurangzeb could not afford to alienate the shrewd and tactful *Wazir* in spite of his lukewarm attitude. 'Remain more steadfast in your desire to serve (the imperial court)', Aurangzeb now wrote to him, 'and consider it a means of eternal fortune (*daulat Sarmadi*).'¹³

4. Mir Jumla's intrigues with Ikhlas Khan, Shahji Bhonsla and the Rayal

To neutralise Mir Jumla's strong diplomatic position, the two Sultans counter-intrigued with the Mughals. In Shawwal, 1064 (15th August—12th September, 1654) Aurangzeb asked Mumin to assure Qutb Shah of favours as the Shah had expressed the intention of renewing the old agreements. The Sultan of Bijapur also continued his intrigues. The result was that the Emperor, heavily bribed by the two Sultans, refused to extend the hand to protection to the Rayal. The growing success of the Sultans' counter-intrigues menaced Mir Jumla's safety. These circumstances compelled Mir Jumla to cast his diplomatic net wider. To counterpoise the enmity of Adil Shah, he had already won over Ikhlas Khan, the Abyssinian governor of the Bijapuri Karnatak, and carried on an interesting correspondence with him. He now endeavoured to win over the Maratha leader, Shahji Bhonsla, who had a grievance against Adil Shah, by interceding on his behalf with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb, hoping to use him against Bijapur, approved of Mir Jumla's assurances of favours to him as "highly proper" and wanted to know from the Mir what Shahji's intentions were, so that he might duly consider them.¹⁴ Again, Mir Jumla had once mediated on behalf of the Rayal with the Mughals to feed fat his ancient grudge against Bijapur and Golkonda, and secure his position. But the Emperor, as noted above, had refused to help the Rayal. Mir Jumla, probably to create a second line of defence now wanted to win over the Rayal again, and so he informed Aurangzeb that the Rayal was sincere in his promises, and requested him to reconsider his case. Aurangzeb replied that though Mir Jumla's earlier reserve about the Rayal had previously prejudiced his case, he would put it up anew before the Emperor.¹⁵

5. Planning of Aurangzeb's Golkonda Campaign

But with all his diplomatic manoeuvres, Mir Jumla could not prevent the contingency he most dreaded. His closely guarded secret of successful intrigues with the Mughal Emperor leaked out. Aware of his true intentions, the two Sultans determined to combine and send an army against him. Neither of them wanted him to enter the imperial service, together with his vast resources, as he was familiar with the ins and outs of their territories. In particular this leakage strained the patience of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah to the utmost limit. He arrested (21st November, 1655) Muhammad Amin, the son and deputy of the absent Wazir, imprisoned him in the fort of Kovilkonda, not far from Golkonda with his mother and sister and seized their cash and goods.¹⁶ Aurangzeb at once reported it to the Emperor and solicited his permission to take "immediate action as the news was likely to make Mir Jumla alarmed and as the short-sighted Qutb-ul-Mulk might even hurt his son."

"It was now Mir Jumla's turn to be as eager as he had been lukewarm before in joining the Mughals." To Mir Jumla, whose expectations had not been fulfilled by his master, the imprisonment of his son, filled the cup of his disappointment and resentment to the brim. He now swore vengeance on the Sultan. Shrewdly realising that his well-equipped army alone would be inadequate to cope with the armed fury of the two sultans, he appealed to Aurangzeb. In great alarm he despatched a secret petition in cypher to Aurangzeb, declaring himself as one of "the well-wishers of the court, and seeking the support and help of the nobles of the powerful Empire by fine stratagems". He confessed that he alone was unable to set his own affairs in order and solicited imperial help against the Sultans. In forwarding the translation of his petition, Aurangzeb pressed the Emperor for granting him quick favours.¹⁷ Indeed to Aurangzeb, the incident supplied the long-awaited opportunity and a very plausible plea for annexing the rich state of Golkonda. But Golkonda alone was not to satisfy his cupidity. He wanted to absorb the Karnatak as well. In persuading the Emperor not to let slip the opportunity, Aurangzeb wrote to him: "Golkonda, together with what Mir Jumla

had occupied in the Karnatak, which was not less rich or vast than Golkonda itself and together with the choicest, and rare articles in abundance, jewels, limitless wealth and hidden treasures and numerous world-famous mines, would come into the possession of the Emperor and a total victory would thus fall to the lot of the nobles of the eternal empire contributing to its material and spiritual benefits."¹⁸

On 3rd December, 1655, Shahjahan, on hearing of Mir Jumla's appeal and in accordance with Aurangzeb's request, despatched, through Qazi Muhammad 'Arif Kashmiri (second *bakhshi* of the *ahadis*), a handsome *Khilat* and a letter-patent to Mir Jumla appointing him a commander of 5,000 *Zat* and 5,000 *Suwar* and his son a commander of 2,000 *Zat* and 2,000 *Suwar* in Mughal imperial service and asking them to come to Court. A letter was also sent to Qutb Shah forbidding him to prevent Mir Jumla and his son from coming to the imperial court, to detain any portion of their property or to interfere with their dependents. These letters were brought to Aurangzeb by Muhammad Sharif Yasawal on 18th December, 1655. Aurangzeb was ordered to send a note to Qutb Shah that as Mir Jumla and his son had been included among imperial servants, Qutb Shah must either release his son or be prepared to meet the invasion of an imperial army.¹⁹ Aurangzeb was also ordered to invade Haidarabad on the pretext of collecting arrears of tribute.

Indeed, the two conspirators, the ambitious Mughal viceroy of the Deccan and the revengeful Persian Wazir of Golkonda, formulated their grand strategy in collaboration with each other through secret letters and oral messages conveyed by confidential agents like Muhammad 'Arif. Praising the Mir's 'sincerity and faith' Aurangzeb assured him that "due chastisement would be meted out to that double-dealer (Qutb Shah).....by rooting him out at the right time in consultation" with him. Mir Jumla was asked in the meanwhile to excite and seduce the *Sar-i-lashkar* and other officers of Qutb Shah, as their alliance would be a 'valuable asset' and was further instructed to win over the Royal at the time of his departure from the Karnatak. In short, Aurangzeb wrote : 'Conceal your motives from the enemy at all costs. Compose your mind in all ways. Collect together

all your goods scattered in different ports. Inform me of your desires 2 or 3 months before and start and do not make greater delay." He wrote to him again : "What I want is that I may confer on you such favours secretly and outwardly as to excite the jealousy of others'. The Mir, on his side, suggested to Aurangzeb to invade Golkonda where the *dabir* or Chief Secretary was his relative, and undertook to contribute 50,000 rupees daily towards the expenses of the invading army.

The conspirators' plan of action was fixed as follows :

- (i) Qutb Shah was to be asked to release Mir Jumla's son, and in case he did not,
- (ii) Muhammad Sultan would go to Haidarabad, and release the captive by force, if necessary, and await the arrival of Mir Jumla there.
- (iii) Aurangzeb was to go personally, if 'Adil Shah came to help Qutb Shah in opposing the release of Muhammad Amin.
- (iv) Mir Jumla was to dispose of quickly his unfinished work in the Karnatak ; and after making suitable arrangements for its administration through his trustworthy agents there, he was to start towards Golkonda with his army, artillery and other resources to accomplish the "real motive" (*asl maqsud*) i.e., the conquest of Golkonda.

Thus the strategy of Mir Jumla and Aurangzeb lay in the plan of a double attack on Golkonda,—the former marching from the south and the latter from the north. Aurangzeb wrote to Mir Jumla : "I wish I will not miss this opportunity to snatch away his kingdom." Indeed, as Aurangzeb pointed out to the Emperor, the advance of Mir Jumla from the Karnatak with a well-equipped army and an excellent park of artillery and numerous elephants presented, "a golden opportunity", the like of which might not repeat itself. As the success of the plan doubtless depended on the simultaneity of attack on two fronts, Aurangzeb repeatedly urged on Mir Jumla to keep in view "the time-factor and circumstances", to advance without further delay and to inform him of the progress of his journey, even of the exact date of his arrival in Haidarabad.²⁰

The execution of the plan was the work of Aurangzeb. On

20th December 1655, he sent a *nishan* to Qutb Shah, rebuking him for having arrested Muhammad Amin "against all principles of fidelity" and ordering him to release immediately the captive and his relatives, restore their confiscated properties and send him along with Mir 'Abdul Kasim (inspector of the artillery) and Sayyid 'Ali, the bearers of the *nishan*. The Sultan was warned that Prince Muhammad would invade Golkonda in case of his non-compliance. Qutb Shah, emboldened by 'Adil Shah's co-operation and as if 'intoxicated with the wine of negligence', left unheeded the imperial *farman* of the 3rd December and Aurangzeb's *nishan* of the 20th. Moreover, he had created disturbances in the country between the frontier of Indur and Haidarabad. So Aurangzeb despatched Muhammad Sultan on 26th December, 1655, against Golkonda and ordered Hadidad Khan, deputy governor of Telingana, to join him with 10,000 men at Nander. He also sent Asadullah, son of Mir Fazlullah, with 500 cavalry to the *zamindar* of Chanda, with directions to arrive at that frontier with him and his army, to escort Mir Jumla to the imperial court if he came along that way. Aurangzeb hoped to dispose of the affair quickly if 'Adil Shah did not create any difficulty. But as 'Adil Shah was busily engaged in preparing to assist Qutb Shah, Aurangzeb requested the Emperor to approve of his plan of invading Golkonda on the plea of excursion and hunting in case of Qutb Shah's delaying to send Muhammad Amin even after receipt of Aurangzeb's note.

Meanwhile, learning of Muhammad Amin's arrest (24th December) Shah Jahan had despatched an express letter to Qutb Shah, to release Muhammad Amin and his family within 2 or 3 days on pain of punishment. On 29th December the Emperor intimated to Aurangzeb his strong belief that Qutb Shah would now release him; but that taking all points into consideration and also "in order to gratify Aurangzeb", he would sanction the invasion of Golkonda, in case Qutb Shah defied the imperial order. The Mir must be weaned from Qutb Shah by 'any means'. Shaista Khan, Governor of Malwa, was ordered to wait on Aurangzeb with his *mansabdars*. Both these imperial letters reached Aurangzeb on 7th January, 1656. "He now employed finesse to ruin Golkonda. Without giving

Qutb Shah time to receive and follow Shah Jahan's letter of 24th December, which explicitly ordered the release of the captives, he declared that the king's refusal to set them free in spite of the Emperor's letter of 3rd December amounted to that flat disobedience of imperial orders which had been laid down as a necessary condition for the invasion of Golkonda." Aurangzeb wanted to go himself and release the prisoners, informing Mir Jumla that in case the Sultan did not do so, 'whatever he will see, he will see himself'. He postponed his own march and commissioned his son to advance towards Haidarabad and to immediately release the prisoners, in case they were still detained.²¹

6. Release of Mir Jumla's son and property

Qutb Shah, who had not released Muhammad Amin even after getting the news of the arrival of Prince Muhammad Sultan at Nander (7th January), was at last "roused from the sleep of neglect" on receiving the stern imperial *farman* of 24th December, and after the arrival of the Prince within two stages of Haidarabad. He now released Muhammad Amin together with his family with due honour, entrusting them to 'Abdul Latif, Mughal *hajib* at Golkonda, and Abdul Kasim and Sayyid Ali, the ambassadors of Aurangzeb, and sent his submissive explanation to the Emperor through Niyaz Beg and Aziz Beg. Muhammad Amin interviewed 'his helper', the Prince, probably on 21st January, at a distance of 12 *kos* from Haidarabad. Aurangzeb had instructed him to await the Mir's arrival at a suitable strategic site. But the Prince continued to advance towards the city of Haidarabad as Qutb Shah had not yet restored the property of the prisoners. The frightened and unnerved Sultan saved his life by a hurried flight to the castle of Muhammadnagar *i.e.* Golkonda (22nd January). Arriving at the Husain Sagar Tank, about five miles from the heart of Haidarabad on the morning of 23rd January, the Prince issued orders for digging trenches and laying mines before the fort of Golkonda. Though the army was warned not to harm the city of Haidarabad so as to reconcile the people, it was pillaged after occupation (24th January). As the Bijapuri general Afzal Khan

had massed an army within 40 miles of Haidarabad, Aurangzeb, considering delay to be dangerous, started from Nander and reached Golkonda (28th January). He intended to wait there till the arrival of Mir Jumla, so that he might easily annex Golkonda if the Emperor approved of it and if not, he might recover the confiscated property of Mir Jumla, now virtually imperial property and exact the unpaid *peshkash* and a handsome present from Qutb Shah. Qutb Shah, too, in utter helplessness, tried to save himself by placating Aurangzeb on the spot, by sending Mir Fasih as his envoy to him with gold-accounted elephants, horses and four boxes of jewels for granting an interview to his mother. But Aurangzeb refused. The Sultan also appealed through his agent, Mulla Abdus Samad, to the Emperor, Dara and Jahanara. Aurangzeb feared that the Emperor might save him and allow him to occupy Mir Jumla's "spacious kingdom (of the Karnatak) with its forts and riches and hidden treasures which Mir Jumla had exclusively appropriated from the zamindars of the Karnatak". But any clemency on the part of the Emperor would take away the plank from beneath Aurangzeb's feet. The coming of Mir Jumla would lose all significance. Aurangzeb dreaded such a prospect of letting the "golden opportunity" of accomplishing his "great design" pass away. So he begged the Emperor not to answer Qutb Shah's appeals till the arrival of Mir Jumla's son, especially as Mir Jumla was likely to reach Haidarabad before its agents arrived at the imperial court.

During the Mughal plunder of Haidarabad, Mir Jumla's son, among others, was deputed by Prince Muhammad Sultan to inspect and guard the furniture and property of Qutb Shah. The latter's envoy, Hakim Nizamuddin Ahmad, was detained in the Mughal camp, evidently as a surety, for the Sultan's delay in restoring Mir Jumla's property. Finally, on January 29, 1656, Qutb Shah restored 11 elephants and 60 horses and other confiscated goods of Mir Jumla to Muhammad Sultan.²²

7. Arrival of Mir Jumla in Aurangzeb's Camp

During all these months of siege of Golkonda Aurangzeb was eagerly looking forward to Mir Jumla. Confidential

messenger after messenger was sent to him, asking him to advance, lest the opportunity would pass away. But Mir Jumla could not come without first setting his own house in order—that is, providing for the administration of his Karnatak dominions and collecting his scattered goods together. Khwaja Muhammad 'Arif, asked by Aurangzeb to set Mir Jumla off from the Karnatak, had to return disappointed. Early in January, 1656, Mir Jumla explained to Aurangzeb the reason of his delay and requested him to communicate them to the Emperor. Aurangzeb at once (10th January) informed him of the future programme,—that Muhammad Sultan would reach Haidarabad on 18th and that he himself would start on 20th January. He added : "My whole endeavour is that just as Qutb-ul-mulk had detained Mir Muhammad Amin in Golkonda, we will also do the same to Qutb-ul-mulk. So if you have arranged for protection of forts and collection of your goods, well and good ; otherwise, without caring for any article, and keeping an eye to the time-factor, start for Haidarabad and inform me when you reach there". Even after Qutb Shah had released Muhammad Amin, Aurangzeb urged him to come quickly for "the fulfilment of his real motive" and sent Muhammad Mumin to fetch him, holding out promises of securing imperial favours. "Do not be negligent towards the final result of the matter and do not lose even a single second", he wrote to Mir Jumla. At his own request, again, Aurangzeb sent Mir (or Mirza) 'Abdul Latif with 2000 horsemen to Mir Jumla in the Karnatak so as to escort him on 11th February. But Mir Jumla's journey, considerably hampered by his artillery, was slow. Days wore on and Mir Jumla did not come. In the meantime as Aurangzeb was gaining victories, Qutb Shah was vigorously pushing on negotiations with the Emperor for peace and sending offers to Aurangzeb too. Exasperated and almost driven to desperation at the prospect of his ambition being frustrated at the time of highest hopes, the impatient Viceroy wrote to his coadjutor early in March : "I want to extirpate him (the Sultan). I trust you are on the way...Qutb Shah is now craving pardon...sending his son-in-law Mir Ahmad to me and proposing that his mother would wait on me and that his daughter would be married to my son...

But I wish to hurl him to the wilderness of annihilation...My longing knows no limit...You may have patience, I cannot afford to wait further".

At last Aurangzeb's period of eager expectancy ended. Mir Jumla crossed the Krishna on 8th March. On 18th March Mir Jumla came out of his camp, 8 miles distant from the Husain Sagar tank, to welcome the imperial *farman* and *Khil'at* sent through Khwaja 'Arif on its bank. Then, returning to his camp, Mir Jumla proceeded to meet Aurangzeb, accompanied by his army, consisting of 6,000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry, 150 elephants and an excellent park of artillery together with his goods, cash, materials of furniture, gold-embroidered weapons, diamonds, rubies and his other acquisitions, and escorted by Maloji, Nasiri Khan and Mir Shamsuddin, whom the Prince had sent to him. Indeed he came "more as a prince than as a noble". At an auspicious hour on 20th March, a day chosen by the astrologers as lucky for a first visit, he waited on the Prince, whose 'attention' had 'saved (him) from his trouble', in his camp at Golkonda, presented a handsome *peshkash*, including 3,000 *Ibrahimis* and received some gifts in return. Aurangzeb took him to his *khilwatkhana* and Mir Jumla received, as it were, "a new lease of life". About a fortnight after the conclusion of peace with Golkonda, Aurangzeb visited Mir Jumla (14th April). The latter's presents to him and his sons (Sultan Muhammad and Mu'azzam) were worth several lakhs.²³

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Causes of friction in Bernier, 18; *Adab*, 30a; Waris, 102b; MU. III, 531 (haughtiness); SHN. (E.D. VII, 108); Ball's Tavernier, I. 165; *Aurangzib* I. 195-6; Gribble, 273; Sherwani, QSD. 561n (Queen-mother born 1592-3).

For Qutb Shah's letter to Persia, Tabrezi, 141b-144a (Pr. IHC. 1941. 606-609); Intimacy with the Queen-Mother in *Storia* I. 233, Catrou 206, Bernier, App. II; Shahjahan's letter to Qutb Shah, GD. (JBORS. Dec. 1940. p. 276); Opinion of English factors (18th Sept. 1654), EFI; IX. 290, xxxiv; Love I. 115; inscriptional evidence EIM. 1937-38, pp. 52-54,

1a. Foster (EFLx. 1655-60, pp. 2-4) of course admits that the Mir was 'of a very different stamp' from Shivaji and blames Qutb Shah for the alienation.

2. *Adab*, 30a; Ball's Tavernier, I. 166; Tabrezi, 70a-73a; RSAS. 154-156. My article 'Correspondence of the Deccani Sultanates and Mir Jumla with the Court of Iran', JBORS. XVIII, 190-197, XIX. 87-93.

The presents include some locketts (*padaks*), studded with diamonds and gems and gold-plated utensils and curios secured from the Royal. Subsequently when the Mir informed the Emperor of these presents, Dara wanted them from Adil Shah. *Adab*, 195b-196a; Waris, 119.

3. *Adab*, 36b, 39a; *Aurangzeb*, I. 197.

4. Tabrezi; 74a. There is a letter of Mir Jumla to Khwaja Muinuddin, late Diwan of Dara, in reply to Dara's (*Ibid.*, 73a-74a), but the date of it is not certain.

5. MN. 453.

6. *Adab*, 33b, 33b-34a, 54b-55a (petition); MM. 81a-82b, 84a-85b; Aurangzeb asked Qutb Shah to give a safe passage to Md. Mumin and his men through his territory and to instruct his faujdars to deal well with him and provide all facilities during his journey both ways. GD.

7. *Adab*, 34a, b.

8. *Adab*, 30a; 31b, 35a (Aurangzeb's complaints against Shahjahan listening to Dara's allegations), 72a-b, 36b; *Aurangzeb* I. 198-9. Qutb Shah was in a sense justified in his complaint against the Mughal Emperor before the Shah of Persia (1656). "Placing confidence on the *ahdnama*, I did not believe that the Padshah of Hindustan.....would violate it and help this villainous wretch. Outwardly adhering to the pact letters of his *wakils* arrived, calling upon me to drive him away, so that he might not combine with Adil Shah. Tabrezi, 141b-144a. Pr. IHC (1941), 607-8.

9. *Adab*, 30a-b, 36b, 72a-b, 72b-73a; Waris, 102a; GD (Alamgir to Qutb Shah); *Aurangzeb*, I. 196.

10. *Adab*, 34b, 35a, 44a-b; GD (Alamgir to Abdullah). So eager was Aurangzeb to win over Mir Jumla, that even before the arrival of imperial order, he sent a *nishan* and *Khilat* to Mir Muhammad Amin and assured him of royal favours (*Adab*, 44a, 35b, 34b). Aurangzeb described Md. Amin as the 'true son' of his father and as one 'on whose forehead the signs of rectitude and ability are visible'.

11. *Adab*, 34b, 35a, b, 44a, 38a, b; 72a-b; 72b-73a; GD (Alamgir to Abdullah); MM. 81a-82b, 84a-85b. The *nalwa* (tube of bamboos containing secret news) sent by Abdul Latif (who had also gone to the Mir) to Fazil Khan was sent by Aurangzeb to the Emperor, (*Adab*, 35b). It appears that Md. Mumin did not like certain wishes of the Mir. See two letters of Aurangzeb written to Mir Jumla about this time. (*Adab*, 73a-74a).

12. *Adab*, 39a; Cf. Aurangzeb I, 200-1. "In fact three kings were now bidding for his services, and he wished to make the most of the circumstances."

From Qutb Shah's letter to Shah Abbas II (1656) it appears that Aurangzeb had a hand in Mir Jumla's refusal to serve Bijapur. "Letters of the

Emperor's Vakils arrived, calling upon me to drive away so that he might not combine with Adil Shah." Tabrezi, *op. cit.*

13. *Adab*. 73b-74a.

14. For intrigues with Ikhlas, Tabrezi 75a-76b; *Adab*, 39a, 36b. Probably Ikhlas Habshi wanted to imitate Mir Jumla's 'disloyal example' and become independent in the viceroyalty of Bijapuri Karnatak (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, i, 198).

For intrigues with Shahji, *Adab*. 76a-b. Probably Mir Jumla began negotiating with Shahji, even when Muhammad Mumin was in the Karnatak and Aurangzeb wrote to him, approving of the conduct: "To conciliate a person, who, in fear of his own master, expresses a desire to serve in this (imperial) court is necessary for you", (*Adab*, 73b-74a). For Shahji's first rupture with the Bijapur Court in 1644 and subsequent disloyal intrigues, see HSh 85-87, 16-23.

15. *Adab*, 44b (Sultans bribing the Mughals), Aurangzeb wrote: "If the affair of the Rayal had been known from before, as you have written now, and if you had written about him to me to help him (*tariq i dastgir u*), he would have then been favoured. But in spite of enquiries (on our part) you were then silent about his fate. But as Padshahs have to keep an eye everywhere, so I am putting up your case regarding the Rayal anew before the Emperor. You may state what you have thought about him and send an intelligent person to explain the things to me, as you had spoken to the official *harkara*." *Adab*, 76a-b.

16. Arrest of Mir Jumla's son, *Adab* 45a; Ball, I 166; Waris, 109a; Tabrezi, 12a; SHN: GD ('Alamgir to Qutb Shah); see Appendix E. Kovilkonda (16° 48' N, 77° 4 7' E) in dt. Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh.

17. Reaction on the Sultans and Mir's appeal. *Adab*. 40a, 36a, 49a; Re. Qutb Shah's reasons for deferring punishment of Mir Jumla, see Tabrezi, 141b-144a (Pr. IHC, 1941, *op. cit.*); *Aurangzib* i. 201.

18. Reaction on Aurangzeb, Ball, I. 166; MU. III. 531; Waris, 102b 109a; *Adab*, 45a, 46a, 49a.

19. Md. Arif, Waris, 102b 109a; *Adab*, 56b, 76b, 133a, 45a; GD. (Aurangzeb to Qutb) JBORS (Dec. 1940), 285-6; MU III. 532; EFI. X. 62-3, 64-5, 46; *Aurangzib* I. 202-3.

Khwaja Arif first saw Mir Jumla and then Qutb Shah (*ibid*), Some Qutbshahi officers like Yakut Khan, Yakub and Syed Mansur, professing submission to Aurangzeb, were asked to join Mir Jumla with their forces, *Adab*, 56b, 72a.

It is interesting to note the reaction of the rebellion of Mir Jumla on the English factors at Agra and Madras. Agra was agog with reports that the emperor would send an army against Golkonda and Deccan (Bijapur) in favour of Mir Jumla who had offered to subdue the whole kingdom of Golkonda. Jesson, the Agra factor, apprehended that it would be dangerous to send saltpetre to Burhanpur and Ahmadabad during the Golkonda campaign, lest Aurangzeb might seize it for his needs and payment would be a 'troublesome business'. (To Surat. Letters of Feb. 6 and 23, 1656, EFI. X. 62-5, The Madras factors expected the Mir to take shelter with the

Mughals if he was overpowered. 4 Feb., 1656, *ibid*, 46), Unfortunately the reports of Thomas Symonds, then in Golkonda, are no longer extant (*ibid*, 90).

20. *Adab*, 72a, 76b, 76b-77a; 79a-b; 79b-80a; 46b; Waris, 109a-b; Tabrezi 141b-144a (Pr. IHC. 1941. *op. cit.*), Bernier, 18; Tavernier (I. 166-7) refers to the plan of double attack, but his statement that the two combined armies surprised the Sultan is not correct. HIR. I. 38-9. (Mir's letter), criticised in Gribble, 273-81.

21. Aurangzeb's *nishan*, *Adab*, 56b-57a, 45b, 76b-77a; A similar but briefer and undated *nishan* to Abdullah (GD) gives the additional information that the messengers must not be detained for more than three days.

Aurangzeb's military arrangements, *Adab*, 45a-b, 76b-77a, 45b-46a, b, 47a, 49a, 50b-51a, 152a-b; Waris, 109b; MU. III. 532; Tabrezi, 141b-144a; *Aurangzib*, I. 203-4; Qutb Shah's disturbances, *Adab*, 101b; Emperor's order, Waris, *op. cit.*; *Adab*, 46a, 79b-80a; ZNA. 12.

22. For release of Muhammad Amin, *Adab*, 49a, 48a, 47b, 80b, 105b; Tavernier is wrong about release of Md. Amin. (Ball, I. 167); Waris, 109b-110a; MU. III. 532; Qutb Shah's plight, Waris 109b, *Adab*, 47a-b, 48b, 49a-50a, 187; Tabrezi, 141b-144a; SHN: GD. (Dara to Qutb Shah); for interview of 'Abdus Samad (13th March, 1656) with the Emperor; Restoration of property, Waris, 109a, 110a; *Adab*, 49, 50a 105b; EFL. X. 91; Tavrezi, 141b-144a, Pr. IHC, (1941). *op. cit.*; QSD. 442, 562n.

On 24th January Aurangzeb received Mir Jumla's reply in cypher to Aurangzeb's note giving hopes of royal favours and forwarded it with its interpretation to the emperor. *Adab*, 49a; Waris, 109b.

23. *Adab*, 49b-50a, 80a-b, 80b-81a, 81a,b, 121b, 101b; GD (Dara to Qutb); Waris 111a, b, 112a-b (Presents); Tabrezi, *op. cit.*; Ball, I. 167; MU. III. 534; ZNA, 14; *Aurangzib* I. 214, 217.

CHAPTER 4

Mir Jumla as Mughal Wazir

SECTION A

THE WAZIR AS AN AGENT OF AURANGZEB

1. Mir Jumla's journey to Delhi and appointment

Leaving Haidarabad on 16th April, Mir Jumla accompanied Aurangzeb up to Indur (May 2). A fortnight's close association was necessarily attended with exchange of ideas and formulation of plans for the future, especially in view of a struggle for the imperial throne. Mir Jumla gave a secret pledge of goodwill and concord to Aurangzeb at Indur and was permitted to advance towards the imperial Court, together with his son, escorted by Qazi 'Arif (3rd May). Here Muhammad Beg, the mace-bearer, brought to Mir Jumla the imperial *farman* of 10th April, conferring on him the title of Mu'azzam Khan (Exalted Peer), and giving some presents including a ketteldrum.

In deference to an imperial order, summoning him to Delhi, Mir Jumla left Indur for that place on 7th May. During the journey he maintained an active correspondence with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb congratulated him on his recent honours, and asked him, in compliance with the Emperor's urgent call, to expedite his march to Delhi, and stated that Khwaja Muhammad 'Arif would meet him at Nander. He also wanted to know whether

Mir Jumla had taken Muhammad Amin along with him or left him at Indur and whether he had 'bidden adieu to' i.e. had won over the *Zamindars* of the Karnatak. Mir Muhammad Amin, on coming to Burhanpur, could not start for the imperial *Darbar* owing to excessive rains. On learning (27th June) that Mir Jumla had got a personal letter from the Emperor, Aurangzeb became highly pleased, and wrote to the Mir: "..... My mind's desire came out of the curtain of Fate. I am always eager to see your plans fulfilled and I am not fully satisfied at your present lesser honour. I wish to try for the conferment of further favours on you and I hope it will materialise in no time, even if it will be the cause of jealousy of enemies. (Verse) Wait till the dawn of your prosperity comes. For this is but the last quarter of the night."¹

Indeed, Aurangzeb, losing one adherent in Sa'dullah Khan's death, was keenly interested in Mir Jumla's appointment in imperial service, as he wanted to utilise him as a buffer against, and counterpoise to Dara. As Aurangzeb wrote to Shah Nawaz Khan: "On the death of Sadullah I have lost a sincere well-wisher. Now if the affair of Mu'azzam Khan, who is a well-wisher and trusts in me, is disposed of according to my wish, it will be due to God's grace. But the enemies are trying hard to set matters otherwise". Dara, too, endeavoured hard to prevent this preferment of Mir Jumla. But all opposition of Dara's party was overborne by the Emperor's resolve to retrieve his honour in the North-West Frontier with the help of Mir Jumla, and his conviction that he was undoubtedly the right person to recover Qandhar from the Persians.²

Mir Jumla's journey to the capital was as grandiose as it was significant. "Wherever he passed," writes Manucci, then at Delhi, "the Governors of the places came out to greet him, doing him great honour and giving him presents, all by order of the King..... (Near Delhi) the greatest commanders were sent out to greet and escort him. Orders were given that all along his route the streets and shops should be decorated in the same manner as done for the king's passing. "On 25 Ramzan, 1067/ 7th July 1656, the Emperor, hearing of his approach, ordered Qasim Khan *Mir Atish* and Danishmand Khan *Bakhshi* to go to the outskirts of the town and escort Mir Jumla. On that 'lucky

day' he had his audience with the Emperor, who received him well and honoured him by giving him the highest place for sitting in Royal Presence.³

Mir Jumla presented to the Emperor 1,000 *mohurs* as *nazar* and some precious jewels, including some diamonds of his Karnatak mines. The Emperor gave him a special *khil'at*, and a sword studded with gems and increased his rank by *hazari hazar Suwar* so that he now became a commander of 6,000 *Zat* and 6,000 *Suwar*. The Emperor appointed him the Diwan-i-kul or Diwan-i-'Alam *i.e.* the Prime Minister or Diwan of the whole empire, in place of Sa'dullah Khan, who had died on 7th April 1656. He was further honoured with the gift of a jewelled pen-case and 200 horses and 10 elephants from the Emperor's special stables, 1 female elephant and 5 lakh rupees in cash. When Mir Jumla informed Aurangzeb of the imperial favours, the latter expressed pleasure and wrote : "Let God give you the power to please the Emperor, which would mean satisfying God."⁴ Shahjahan himself wrote to Qutb Shah : "Mir Jumla's dignity was daily on the increase through fresh favours". The Emperor was pleased to bestow the Karnatak, as a reward on Mir Jumla, free of tribute for seven years.⁵

In short, the year 1655-1656 formed an important landmark in the career of Mir Jumla. Setting at naught the authority of his feeble master of Golkonda, he was not only able to obtain the possession of the Karnatak as his personal *jagir* with the help of the Mughal Emperor, but was also safe under the latter's sheltering wings against any reprisal from his old and naturally indignant master. Indeed, Mir Jumla's period of apprenticeship or preparation for a successful political career was over. Destiny now raised him to an even more exalted station in a much more secure but wider political sphere.

2. Administration of Revenue and Financial matters

Mir Jumla held the office of the diwan for nearly fifteen months,—from his appointment on July 7, 1656, till his dismissal towards the end of September, 1657. Of this period he spent barely five months at Delhi, leaving for the Deccan on 1st December, 1656 and during the remaining ten months he

remained busily engaged in the campaign against Bijapur. Throughout his tenure of office as Wazir, whether at the imperial capital or in the field of battle, whether away from Aurangzeb or near him, Mir Jumla was playing the same role, the role of Aurangzeb's instrument and mouthpiece, his friend, philosopher and guide, safeguarding his interests, both in diplomacy and in war.

About Mir Jumla's handling of administrative problems as *diwan* we know next to nothing. The incidental references gleaned from the *Adab-i-'Alamgiri* about a few revenue and financial matters, relate only to the Deccan. These make it abundantly clear that Aurangzeb wanted the Mir to plead his case before the Emperor. Aurangzeb requested Mir Jumla to state before the Emperor, that the income of the district of Ramgir (modern Manickdrug and Chinoor) ceded to the Mughals by Qutb Shah in 1656, was not more than 80,000 *huns* so as to prove the allegations of Qutb Shah made before Qabad Beg, the Mughal *hajib*, that Muhammad Nasir had agreed to pay 1,20,000 *huns* as its revenue to the government, to be false.

In the administration of the Deccan, Aurangzeb had to face serious financial difficulties, which were increased by his wrangles with the Emperor. The *jagirs* yielded only a fraction of their nominal value. There was an annual deficit, which hit the *jagirdars* hard and rendered the strength of the Deccan army precarious. Aurangzeb's one suggestion, that *jagirs* in part should be given to him and the higher officers in other provinces, was accepted by the Emperor. But his second proposal that the cash portion of his salary should be paid from Malwa and Surat was not approved. Again, agriculture had been ruined by mis-government for the last few years and prolonged warfare, causing depopulation and ravage. Shahjahan had, therefore, exhorted Aurangzeb to improve the condition of the peasantry and extend cultivation.

Now Murshid Quli, the able *diwan* of the Deccan, wrote to the Central Government that the *pargana* of Bir yielded only two-thirds of its annual income in the 28th year of the *julus* (i.e. 1655) and that an increment was expected next year. The *wakils* of Aurangzeb of that *pargana*, whose salary was 2 crore *dams* did not include it in their *jagirs*, but accepted the

jagirs of Maluji and others, whose income, after abatement (*takhfif*) came up to 6 months." The Emperor enquired of the Mir why, if Murshid Quli's report about Bir was true, Shah Beg Khan had preferred to it another *pargana* yielding lesser revenue and even doubted the honesty of Murshid Quli in this matter. So Mir Jumla asked Aurangzeb to explain the reasons of Shah Beg Khan's refusal to take Bir.

In reply Aurangzeb sent separate sheets containing the statistics of the income of the place in the past and the present, so that Mir Jumla might form a correct idea of the whole position; and he stated at the same time that the reason for Shah Beg's refusal to take Bir was not its devastated and uncultivated condition (*Kharabi o birani*) but something else. Shah Beg Khan, summoned from Ahmadnagar to join Aurangzeb in invading Golkonda, had petitioned for one *pargana* for suitable accommodation of his family, instead of several scattered *jagirs*. So Aurangzeb had given him that *pargana* at a salary of 3 kror 50 lacs of *dams*, as shown in the ledger-sheet (*afrad-i-tauji*). Again, Aurangzeb found on his return from Golkonda, that the increase in his *mansab* by the conferment of Bir on him was not approved of by the Emperor; so he did not think it advisable to take it away from Shah Beg. In trying to remove the doubts of the Emperor regarding Murshid Quli, Aurangzeb wrote to Mir Jumla: "Murshid Quli Khan is an upright and sound officer (*rast-o-durasti ast*). How can he write an untruth? The good efforts which he is making here do not require special praise. It is a matter of regret that the previous diwans of this province did not perform even hundredth part of what he is doing. He is a very serviceable (*kar-amadan*) officer. It will be better if he is not taken to task without cause but is retained in his post..." Aurangzeb suggested that, if Murshid's conduct was still suspected to be questionable, an officer might be sent by the Emperor to enquire into his actions. 'Communicate these matters to the Emperor in the way I have represented', Aurangzeb advised the Mir.

It is further known that Wazir Mir Jumla fixed the salary of Iraj Khan and his brother till the month of Khurdad (3rd Persian month) and Aurangzeb informed Nasiri Khan that this arrangement would continue in future.⁶

According to the Emperor's orders, intended to cope with the deficit budget of the Deccan, "Mir Jumla Jumlat-ul-mulki" wrote to the clerks (*mutasuddis*) of the Deccan that any one there whose *mansab* was to be increased or who was to get a new *mansab*, would have half of his salary in *jagir* and the entire amount of his pay only on arrival of the imperial *sanad*. Since the promulgation of the order, the *diwans* of the Deccan acted up to it. But the *mansabdars* of the Deccan, hit hard by the order which necessarily delayed payment, repeatedly petitioned to the Emperor, as they were too poor to send their *Wakils* to him. Aurangzeb, conscious of their hardships, had included their complaints in the news-letters. The emperor was pleased to revise the order, saying that it would not be necessary to await the imperial *sanad*. The simplified procedure was that the revenue officer of the Deccan would be informed of the Emperor's approval of the (general) recommendation of the *Bakhshi*, and then the balance of half-salary would be paid and the *sanads* issued locally.

Now, with regard to those *mansabdars*, who were either appointed for the first time or whose ranks had been increased since Aurangzeb's taking charge of the Deccan, and whose names were sent by *Bakhshi* Safi Khan to Aurangzeb's *Wakil* at Delhi, Aurangzeb requested Itiqad Khan, *Bakhshi* of Shah-jahan, to verify the names from the records and issue *sanads* after putting imperial seals on them without sending them for imperial confirmation. In future, Aurangzeb proposed to send a separate statement of consideration every month in this way, so that, after being approved of by the Emperor, it would be handed to the *Wakil* (of Aurangzeb). So Aurangzeb asked Itiqad Khan to "try hard in this matter, as it was conducive to the interests of the soldiery and the empire" and as "it relieved men from vexation."

3. Mir Jumla's Patronage

As the Prime Minister of the Empire, Mir Jumla came to possess extensive powers of patronage. Since his influence with the Emperor was very great, Aurangzeb wanted him to intercede before the Emperor on behalf of certain officers, whom he

pecially liked. The Emperor, being displeased with Safi Khan, the *Bakhshi* of the Deccan, had called him to court and punished him. In recommending his case for reinstatement, Aurangzeb held that the Emperor's displeasure was baseless and his punishment of him unmerited. His ability was unquestioned, for there was no suitable post for him in the Deccan except that of the *Bakhshi* and the *Wagianavis*. Pleading that a man like him should not be chastised and disgraced without any fault, and hinting that the Khan held the Mir in high esteem, Aurangzeb wrote to the Mir that any intercession on his behalf will not be inopportune, ... adding that "the knot might be cut only through your efforts." Aurangzeb also recommended to Mir Jumla the cases of Murshid Quli Khan, the experienced and able diwan of the Deccan, and of Multafat Khan (son of Azam Khan), late diwan of Payanghat, and a "sincere officer", then holding charge of Ahmadnagar (1656).

Munshi Qabil Khan also recommended to the Wazir the case of Adam Khan Khesghi, a tactful young man of business and a good soldier. After serving Murad for long, he had joined Bijapur government and discharged his duties efficiently. Aurangzeb summoned him but offered him only a '*mansab* of 500 *Zat* and 100 *Suwar*. Not satisfied with this, he wanted to go to the imperial court.⁸

4. Mir Jumla the invaluable ally of Aurangzeb

The rise of Mir Jumla to eminence in the imperial court was an index to furtherance of Aurangzeb's own ambitions and plans. Hence Aurangzeb was anxious to know of Mir Jumla's affairs and developments in his fortune, which Aurangzeb assured him, would increase his love for him. Indeed, in letter after letter, written since Mir Jumla's departure from Aurangzeb's camp, the Viceroy of the Deccan gave expression to feelings of deep love and friendship, comparable to the pangs of a passionate lover to meet his beloved. "In spite of the desire of remaining with you, the exigencies of time have thrown a curtain of distance between us. (Verse). He came and went. He did not sit so long as to enable me to console my mind. Let God open a way for (our) union...". Aurangzeb advised the Mir

to confide in him as his best well-wisher in every matter. That the latter reciprocated these feelings is clear from Aurangzeb's reply to Mir Jumla's letter of 27 Zikada/September 6, 1656 (?) wherein he observed " ... love and true friendship spring from the heart and cannot be expressed in black and white. The sincere intentions which you have expressed and are expressing these days are inspired by your faith in me. I can feel it in my heart of hearts, even though you may not write of it. I know it for certain that all your resolutions are promoted by gratitude. Let God grant you more power (for gratitude)."⁹ This exuberance of feeling proves only one tangible fact that the Wazir Mir Jumla was an invaluable ally of the Viceroy of the Deccan.

5. Wazir Mir Jumla pitted against Crown—Prince Dara

Aurangzeb's object was clearly to utilise the Wazir in furthering his own interests. Shrewdly realising that success in his plans depended on curtailing the influence of Dara in the imperial Court, where Mir Jumla was just a new-comer and as yet without friends, Aurangzeb, requested Jahanara to show kindness and consideration for Mir Jumla and help him in every matter. When Jahanara agreed to do so, Aurangzeb advised Mir Jumla that it was imperative for him to secure her support by approaching her through Isa Beg and by thanking her for her "invisible" acts of kindness, and representing to her that he had "no refuge in the imperial court except her favours" and that he had thrown his honour under her care. Besides, Aurangzeb advised him to behave with the nobles there in a seemingly good manner, concluding that 'it is not necessary to admonish an intelligent person.'^{10a}

The effect of Mir Jumla's presence at Delhi on the course of diplomacy was quickly felt by all. We have seen before, that, while in the Karnatak, Mir Jumla had started negotiations with Shahji Bhonsla, who, having a grievance against his master, the Sultan of Bijapur, had expressed a desire to join the Mughals. Aurangzeb had approved of the assurances given by Mir Jumla to Shahji. Now, after his appointment as the Mughal Wazir, Mir Jumla tried to induce the Emperor to

support Shahji as against Bijapur, much to the mortification of Dara. Aurangzeb approved of Mir Jumla's actions and advised him to dispose of the matter quickly by continuing false negotiations with Shahji.^{10b}

Mir Jumla's defence of Aurangzeb in private discussions with the Emperor against Dara's accusation of having misappropriated the tribute from Bijapur was a pleasant surprise for Aurangzeb. Learning of it from the report of his own *Wakil*, Aurangzeb praised Mir Jumla before his *munshi* Qabil Khan. "My expectations from Mir Jumla are more than this (*Chashm-dasht ma az ishan pesh az in ast*). I know for certain that he would leave no stone unturned for my good, and he will not fail in endeavouring to act even better than what I would say." Aurangzeb informed Mir Jumla that Adil Shah did not send any handsome *peshkash* on some pretexts for sometime past and that the sum of 4 lakhs of rupees (out of the promised 9 lakhs), when brought by Abul Hasan, would be duly sent to the Emperor. He advised the Wazir to report these facts to the Emperor, if the question was raised again and "to answer in such a way as to cause regret to the enemy (*i.e.* Dara)."^{10c}

6. The Wazir as arbiter between the Emperor and the Deccan Viceroy

Mir Jumla's role as the agent of Aurangzeb is best illustrated during the latter's wrangles with the Emperor about the Golkonda booty (Zikada, 30th Julus). The way in which Aurangzeb writes complaining against Shah Jahan's lack of confidence in him, justifying his own conduct, and asking Mir Jumla to plead his case before the Emperor, suggests as if the Wazir was an arbiter in the quarrel between the Emperor and his Viceroy. It was to Mir Jumla that Aurangzeb protested against the Emperor's charge that he and his son had taken costly presents from Qutb Shah without duly reporting the fact. It was at the Mir's suggestion that certain presents, already seen by some imperial officers, Shaista Khan and the Mir and too insignificant to be mentioned and unfit to be offered to the Emperor had been withheld from the entire *peshkash* worth 1 crore and 15 lakhs of rupees. It was the knowledge of the Emperor's wrangling

which had made the Sultan unwilling to remit a handsome *peshkash* in spite of Aurangzeb's pressure. Aurangzeb further explained to the Wazir how he could not carry out his own plan of sending a befitting *peshkash* to the Emperor himself because of the "indecent haste" of the Emperor in having the entire indemnity remitted to him, how the two Sultans had become highly elated at the news of Aurangzeb's discomfiture, and how he finally sent to the imperial court everything, including even the presents to himself (the diamond with a black stain and a ring of ruby not even worth Rs. 4,000/-, seen by Mir Jumla) and to his son. "If I had anything to conceal", he wrote to Mir Jumla, "why would I have shown them (presents) to you Why should I grudge to give a few jewels to His Majesty when the jewel of my life itself is at his service?"

To evoke Mir Jumla's interest in the case, Aurangzeb also complained to the Wazir that the Emperor's appropriation of the entire indemnity, including Aurangzeb's due share of the cash, had left him indebted to the extent of 20 lacs of rupees. The Deccan army was clamouring for their 6 months' arrear pay. Any depletion in the army owing to mutiny would render it extremely difficult for Aurangzeb to discharge "the responsibility for imperial service, not to speak of the control of the provinces," including Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions, especially as Adil Shah was busily engaged in defensive preparations (in anticipation of a Mughal invasion), and as Mir Jumla himself was well aware of the relative strength of the imperial army in the Deccan and that of the armies of the two Sultans. Observing that "the Golkonda campaign had caused only humiliation" for him and his sons, Aurangzeb asked Mir Jumla to present the whole matter, of which he was aware, to the Emperor as he thought fit. As the Mir was conversant with all details in the matter of division of Golkonda indemnity between the Emperor and the Viceroy Qabil Khan asked the Wazir to 'do his best'. Even if there was no tangible gain for Aurangzeb Mir Jumla was asked to remove the Emperor's displeasure.¹¹

7. Discord between Mir Jumla and Aurangzeb

The serene harmony between the two allies was disturbed by

certain unpleasant episodes. Aurangzeb was much worried over Mir Jumla's showing to the Emperor a copy of the Secret *'ahdnama*, containing Qutb Shah's written promise to make Muhammad Sultan his heir.¹²

Again, when Mir Jumla became displeased at Aurangzeb's not holding public or private audiences and at his giving vent to vexation, Aurangzeb hastened to explain to Mir Jumla (through his munshi) that he had plenty of reasons to be mortified (with the Emperor), but that as Mir Jumla "was interested in big affairs, it was not befitting (of him) to look into these private affairs." He did not attend the court because it was then the day of fasting and the building of the *diwan i khas o am* was still incomplete.^{12a}

Further, Aurangzeb was incensed on learning that Mir Jumla had spoken of Omdatul Mulk Khan Jahan (Shaista Khan) to the Emperor in a slighting manner. For one thing, complaint against a relation of the Emperor, even though any of his actions was displeasing, was highly unbecoming. For another, if Shaista Khan was transferred from Malwa, a province contiguous to that of Aurangzeb, it would not be beneficial to him. Subsequently, however, when Mir Jumla arranged the matter amicably to Aurangzeb, the latter was pleased to remark: "Though Mir Jumla (*Rukn us Sultanat*, Pillar of the Empire) committed some negligence, it was only human. Now God has crowned him with success in his object. It is not proper to take vengeance on him. He endeavours to strengthen the foundation of our friendship. We should both of us try to keep friendship and develop it. It is necessary to win over *Wakil* of the Khan so that he does not seek help from the others."^{12b}

These incidents were of course sources of a temporary discord, but the Karnatak proved to be a more serious cause of friction, as Mir Jumla even suspected Aurangzeb of being negligent in looking after his jagirs there. Aurangzeb could not afford to alienate the Wazir and had to offer explanations to clear his suspicions.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For journey and title, Waris 112b; Tabrezi, *op. cit.* (Proc. IHC, 1941; GD (To Qutb), JBORS. Dec. 1940, p. 275; QN. 86; MU. III. 534-5; *Adab*, 82b, 121b, 122a; *Storia* I. 236-7. (agreement between Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla); EFL. X. 64-5. 68-9 (Army and treasure coming behind with Muhammad Amin). Aqil Khan's statement (p. 14) that Mir Jumla reached Aurangabad along with the imperial army is wrong. For correspondence with Aurangzeb, see *Adab*, 82a-b, 82b, 83a.

2. *Adab*, 117a (to Shah Nawaz); Manucci's remark (*Storia* I. 237) that the Emperor summoned him to court in order to utilise his services in reconquering Qandahar finds corroboration in a letter of Qabil Khan written to Mir Jumla on the eve of the Bijapur campaign: "It is known from a letter of Ruhullah that if it is decided to come to this side (Bijapur), the march of the imperial army to Kabul will be postponed." (*Adab*, 194b-195a). Letter of Jesson at Agra to Surat, 4 December, 1656. EFL. X. 73. (Qandahar expedition abandoned in favour of Bijapur War). See also HLR I. 44.

This was, indeed, one of the rare occasions when Shahjahan supported Aurangzeb's idea against Dara, though for purposes wholly different. As Aurangzeb wrote to Mahabat Khan, "It seems the Emperor will create Mir Jumla Diwan. However much the enemy might try to prevent this, the above Mir is a well-wisher of ours, and if he gets the service, it will be befitting and suitable. *Adab*, 122a (To Mahabat).

3. *Storia* I. 236-7; GD. 6b-9b (To Qutb); JBORS Dec. 1940, p. 275; Tabrezi, 141b-144a (Pr. IHC. 1941, 606-9); MU, III, 5 Ramzan (date wrong).

Mir Jumla arrived at Agra with all his riches, stores and materials on or about 20th June and left it for Delhi on 28th. English factory records place his interview with the Emperor on 8th July. EFL. X. 68-71.

4. Mir's Reception at Court: Waris, I. 114a, 118a; On Sa'dullah's death, Rai Raghunath, who was in *daftar-i-Khalsa o tan* officiated as High Diwan for 3 months and given the title of Rai Rayan. Waris, II, 108a; Tabrezi, *op. cit.*; GD; ZNA. 14; MU. III. 535 (60 elephants); Tavernier I. 170 (first minister of state & C-in-C of armies); TU. 60; QN. 87; *Adab*, 117b, 144b, 190b; 83a-b, 190a. The letter of Jesson (7th May, 1656) to Surat (EFL. X. 66-67) states that on the death of Sa'dullah (8th April) the office of the High Diwan was reserved for Mir Jumla; but that if he was considered unfit for the post, Shaista Khan was to be selected for it. (Agra to Surat, 15th August, 1656). EFL. X. pp. 69-71 and n. See Ball, I. 395-6. (for stone presented to Shahjahan).

Manucci applies the epithets *Wazir-i-azam* and absolute Secretary to Mir Jumla and tells us (*Storia* I. 236-7) that Dara caused him to be ridiculed on arrival at the court by getting his sword to be stolen 'by active fellows' and by asking his buffons to mock the Mir by mimicking his gait and gestures. Dara's resentment is understandable but it is difficult to believe the story as these mean tricks must have violated the dignity and decorum of the court.

5. Tabrezi, *ibid.* Letter of Thomas Symonds, August 2, 1656, EFI. X. 91.

6. *Adab* 82a-b (Ramgir); 86a (Murshid Quli), 153b-154a (Iraj Khan) *Aurangzib* I. 157-183 (for Deccan administration), *Life of Iraj Khan*. MU. I. 268-72; Tr. I. 685-7.

Apprehending that the Emperor came to doubt the integrity of Murshid Quli on account of the whisperings of some one (possibly Dara), Aurangzeb wanted the Mir to use his influence with the Emperor in removing those doubts and saving the officer from disgrace.

7. *Adab*, 127b. Itiqad Khan was the son of Itimad ud Daula and brother of Asaf Khan and the last Bakhshi of Shahjahan. MU. I. 180-82; Tr. I. 714-15.

The above details do not throw much light on Mir Jumla's ability as Wazir, but we have to suspend our judgment of him till discovery of fresh materials.

8. Our only authority is *Adab*; 83a-b (Safi Khan); 193b-194a (Murshid Quli and Multafat); 190b (Adam Khan). Details about Murshid Quli and Multafat in *Aurangzeb* I, 161 ff and fn. Aurangzeb also requested the Wazir to reply to Multafat who had written to him.

9. *Adab*, 81b-82a, 82b, 83a, 84a-b. "I know the details from the wakil's letters, but if you write about them, I will be glad". Qabil Khan congratulated Mir Jumla in these words: "Why should you not be promoted? The light of your work is verily the cause of prosperity of this empire."

10a. Aurangzeb's opinion about Jahanara was not very complimentary. She was not very familiar with himself. Though she was specially interested in the Mir, her attention to 'other sincere persons' was 'guided by exigency but not from the core of her heart'. *Adab* 84a.

10b. "What you have said before the Emperor about Shahji is 'expedient and laudable' (*bamauqa o pasandida*). As it is necessary to dispose of this matter for certain reasons you should endeavour to place before the Emperor what you consider fit and see that the affair is managed in that way. Do not neglect this matter. I have received the Emperor's *farman*, written in his own handwriting. I have learnt its contents. It will be highly desirable if you reveal (to me) those delicate matters, which can be included only in an interview, from out of the curtain of mystery. I, too, will give the reply to these points in the proper form. The sooner you can conclude the business of that Bhonsla (namely Shahji) the better, as it has been the cause of the manifestation of lack of spirit (or ambition) on the part of *anha* (i.e., Dara's party, plural of respect)". *Adab*, 84a-b.

10c. *Adab*, 190b-191b.

11. *Adab*, 84b-85a (Zikada, 30 Julus), 85a-86a, 90b, 190a-b, 191b-192b

(Qabil Khan inducing Mir Jumla).

12. As his *munshi* Qabil Khan wrote to Mir Jumla : "Aurangzeb said, "I donot understand why Mir Jumla disclosed this secret which was not known to the Emperor, without asking my permission. If the Emperor had learnt it from another source and enquired from Mir Jumla he should not have revealed it without consulting me ; he should never have spoken of it himself. Although I have no motive in getting this written from Qutb ul mulk except that of cherishing the prosperity of the Empire, yet, when one should fear the temper of Emperors, and God knows what motives he would find in this, if he (Mir) had put a little thought in this matter, it would have been better. Qabil Khan, perturbed over the friction between Mir Jumla and Aurangzeb, wrote to the former, "As I count on your experience and wisdom, I have every hope that the publication (of the matter) was not without sufficient cause. Write of it and dispel my misgivings." *Adab*; 190b-191b.

12a. When the building was completed and the Ramzan (13 June—12 July, 1656) was over, Aurangzeb once again spent his time happily and wrote to the Wazir : "Keep your mind composed. Let God elevate you to high posts and by dint of your friendship all affairs will be accomplished." *Adab*, 193a-b.

12b. *Adab*, 193b-194a and 192a-193a. Shaista Khan created Khan Jahan after Golkonda campaign.

SECTION B

Fate of Mir Jumla's Karnatak Dominions

1. The Karnatak conferred on Mir Jumla as jagir under the Mughal Empire

The rebellion of Mir Jumla against Qutb Shah was over, the Mughal invasion of Haidarabad was suspended, but the question of the ownership of the Karnatak, the root cause of these events, remained undecided, even after the conclusion of a formal peace between Qutb Shah and the Mughals. The Sultan justly wanted to retain that rich and spacious country, as it had been acquired by his servant with his own resources. But, as we have seen before, Aurangzeb coveted it. As early as March, 1656, he had informed the then Wazir Sadullah Khan : "As regards the Karnatak where there are several mines of diamonds and seaports, still under the *gomastas* (agents) of Mir Jumla, and which has been declared imperial territory, action will be taken according to the needs of the situation." By securing the cession of Ramgir (between the Painganga and the Godavari—modern Manikdrug and Chinoor) from Golkonda, he had brought the Mughal province of Telingana closer to the Northern Karnatak and could thus move his army from the one to the other without the need of a long march through Golkonda territory. So Aurangzeb tried to baffle every move of the Sultan to retain the Karnatak.

Even before the arrival of Mir Jumla at Delhi, Qutb Shah intrigued hard to keep possession of it. He petitioned to Shahjahan for favour of his restoring to him the Karnatak and the ancestral fort of Ramgir. He hoped that Aurangzeb would recommend his case before the Emperor and even tried to influence the Emperor through his own daughter. But Aurangzeb asked the Sultan to wait, as consideration of the matter had been deferred till the appointment of Mu'azzam Khan. Qutb Shah's Delhi ambassador, Mulla 'Abdus Samad, appealed to the Emperor through Dara. The importunities of the Sultan, sponsored by Dara, melted the heart of the Emperor, who became inclined towards admitting his claim over the Karnatak "as a supplement to his old territories." Highly incensed at the Sultan's direct appeal without reference to himself or his *Wakil*, Aurangzeb accused him of impertinence and reminded him that the matter would not be taken in hand by the Emperor before the arrival of Mir Jumla at Delhi.¹

Mir Jumla was not the man to permit the Sultan to swallow up his own morsel. Aurangzeb, too, depended on him in counteracting Qutb Shah's intrigues before the Emperor. In letter after letter Aurangzeb instructed the Mir to wean the Emperor over to his side. Immediately on his arrival at Delhi, he was advised to take from the Emperor a *farman* granting the Karnatak to him and to undo the manoeuvrings of the Sultan, aided by Dara. During the invasion of Haidarabad, Aurangzeb had endeavoured to persuade the Emperor to acquire that jewel of a country, by pointing to its limitless resources and riches. Evidently that had left the Emperor unmoved. But now Mir Jumla kindled the Emperor's cupidity by his speeches and presents, which confirmed Aurangzeb's report. The Emperor, allured by the jewels of Mir Jumla procured from the Karnatak, decided to hold it within the Empire, and conferred it as a reward on Mir Jumla (July, 1656) as his personal *jagir*, held directly from the Emperor, and free of tribute for seven years. Too late did Qutb Shah beg the Emperor to grant the country to him in return for the payment of 15 lakhs of rupees as *peshkash* every year. Aurangzeb now refused to forward his petition to the Emperor, adding sarcastically that he might send it direct. In explaining how the Karnatak was lost by Qutb Shah and

gained by Mir Jumla, he wrote to the crest-fallen Sultan : "At the time of the arrival of the imperial army at Haidarabad, I had urged you to present to the Emperor all your choicest jewels and precious things for placating him and fulfilling your objects. But you did not pay heed to it. Mir Jumla, on the other hand, saw the Emperor and presented diamonds, rubies and other jewels and rare curios to him and informed him of every matter ... If you had acted according to my advice, matters would not have come to such a pass. It is useless to say anything on them when they have passed out of control."² Thus at last Mir Jumla got from the Mughal Emperor a confirmation of what he had secured by force.

2. Reaction on the Deccani Powers

The departure of Mir Jumla from the Karnatak and the reduction of his armed forces there gave the signal for all Deccani powers, smarting under feelings of jealousy, frustrated ambition and vengeance, to make a bid for getting a munch out of the rich spoils of the absent owner. The two Sultans, probably in concert, at once began preliminary movements of their respective armies. While Qutb Shah despatched a force to the Northern Karnatak under his general 'Abdul Jabbar Khan with the professed object of administering and guarding the old territories, Adil Shah asked the *qiladar* of Jinji to nibble at the southernmost part of Mir Jumla's Karnatak territories as early as June, 1656. The Raja of Chandragiri, too, desirous of regaining his lost territories, started his preparations.³ An understanding among all these erstwhile dupes of Mir Jumla, dictated by self-interest and vengeance, was only a question of time, but it was hastened by the bestowal of the Karnatak on Mir Jumla by the Emperor.

The power most vitally affected by it was Qutb Shah. With the final disposal of the question of the ownership of the Karnatak, he realised that the days of pure intrigue were over and that the time for resorting to effective action, to be supplemented by intrigues, if necessary, had come. Emboldened by the machinations of Dara, Qutb Shah now defied Aurangzeb's repeated warnings and persisted in coveting the Karnatak

including Kambam and hoped to nullify the imperial grant in practice by adopting a policy of obstruction and subterfuges. Far from recalling his men from the frontier, he instructed his general, Abdul Jabbar, to hinder the *dakchauki* of Mir Jumla and to pick a quarrel with his agents, causing considerable disorders in the internal administration of the Karnatak. Again before the arrival of imperial officers in the Karnatak, Qutb Shah's men collected the revenues of some *mahals* there.⁴

Much more serious than these pin-pricks of Qutb Shah was the concerted insurrection of the disaffected Hindu *Nayaks* or *Zamindars* and the *Vizadores* or *talliarrs* at Pulicat, Poonamallee and San Thome, the *sardars* of the sepoys of the Karnatak under the leadership of the Rayal against their Muslim masters. They "raised the dust of rebellion, closed the roads and interfered with the postal messengers", as Haji Sulaiman, *qiladar* of Gandikota, observed. In fact Sri Ranga's movement might very well be regarded as the last attempt for recovery on the part of that Hindu power of the south, which, having a brilliant history up to 1565, had to struggle thenceforth against various odds and impediments. It should not be considered as an insignificant revolt of a local chief. Whatever might have been the degree of success in Mir Jumla's efforts at consolidation of his power in the Karnatak, his conquest of it did not completely crush the spirit of the Hindus there, while their sentiments were outraged by his plunder of the idol-temples and his oppressions on the people to snatch away their gold. While the movement was instigated by both the Deccani Sultans, the main part of inciting the Rayal and the *zamindars* against the Nawab's officials seems to have been taken by Qutb Shah, who entered into an alliance with the Rayal. It was the presence of the Sultan's army under 'Abdul Jabbar in the locality which encouraged the Rajas and largely contributed to the "tumult and commotion" there. Aurangzeb rebuked the Shah: "You have sown the seed of a new disturbance and have made the country over to a group of *zamindars* who came to you at Haidarabad for encouragement and you have sent several officers of yours, whose names are mentioned in separate sheets of paper....You have also won over the unfortunate Rayal,

and sent an officer of yours with his *hajib*, and taken some *mahals*, (written in detail separately) from the *gomastas* of the Khan. You have thus disorganised the country which had been brought under order." The *Chamber's Narrative* also significantly refers to the report that "the King of Gulcondah had left the country of Carnaticum again to the Royales."⁵

The initial efforts of the Hindus were marked with quick success. The Rayal captured Tirupati and planned to conquer Conjeeveram, Chingleput and Pulicat. By October, 1656, they recovered the whole country round Madras, except the castle of Poonamallee, thanks to Vengum Raja, the father-in-law of Sri Ranga, who even invaded Peddapollium. Mir Sayyid 'Ali, Mir Jumla's governor of Poonamallee, hastened to Pulicat, where most of the Nawab's riches had been stored. Such reverses adversely affected the morale of the Nawab's party. Collecting the *Talliarrs* together, Vengum Raja marched towards Pulicat and advised Koneri Chetti, Sri Ranga's general in the regions round Poonamallee, to "gather people together", and seize that country. Koneri captured Bala Rau, the Nawab's governor of San Thome, Mylapore and Poonamallee, who was betrayed by the *Talliarrs* near San Thome. The Hindus "pillaged him to his clothes", seized 20 elephants of Mir Jumla and 16 of other Moslem merchants, and brought all of them to Madras as prisoners.

On hearing of these disasters, Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak, the Nawab's general, sent Lingum Nayak, with a party of cavalry and infantry to capture Koneri Chetti, with whom the Nawab's forces had several skirmishes for two or three days near Poonamallee. The failure of the Hindus to capture the castle of Poonamallee was due to the treacherous delay of their general Koneri Chetti, who failed to strike till Mir Jumla's party "had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him." It is probable that after Koneri Chetti had been beaten by the Muhammadans, he was reinforced by Vengum Raja, who had so long besieged Pulicat. But their combined forces proved unable to encounter Lingum Nayak and so the Hindu generals of the Rayal fled to Peddanaikpetta near Madras and sought protection in the fort of Madras with their army, being hotly pursued by the Muhammadans.⁶

Qutb Shah also planned a large-scale assault on Mir Jumla's *jagirs* with the help of Bijapur. As Aurangzeb rebuked him: "You are endeavouring to cause destruction to Bijapur. You have not cast aside your whim of possessing the Karnatak. You are making nonsensical efforts. When the Golkonda kingdom is surrounded on two sides by powerful armies, you are sending your armies to the Karnatak, impelled by your abortive evil designs. Sometimes you are inciting the *zamindars* and creating disturbances; sometimes you are obstructing the *dakchauki*. Do not persist in such actions. Do not lead the Bijapuris astray. Open the eye of foresight and clear the haze which shrouds the mirror of mind..."⁷

3. Attitude of Mir Jumla with regard to the new arrangement

Mir Jumla was determined to maintain his conquests, now incorporated in the Mughal empire, but given back to him as *jagir*. We have already seen how he had delayed in joining Aurangzeb in his invasion of Golkonda to make suitable arrangements for the administration of his territories and collecting his goods scattered there. Even after his appointment as Mughal Wazir, he remained deeply concerned about the Karnatak affairs. But, being away from the theatre of action, where the late rivals in ambition and diplomacy had become comrades in arms for partitioning his own dominion among themselves, he was obliged to depend on Aurangzeb for exercising a general supervision, and safeguarding them from his covetous neighbours, while trusting the internal management of his territories to his own lieutenants. In fine, he felt that the dominion, now included within the frontiers of the 'eternal empire', must be under the protection of its army. From Qabil Khan's assurance to Mir Jumla also it appears that Aurangzeb on his side was fully conscious of his responsibility. So the Mir repeatedly exhorted Aurangzeb to look after his *jagirs* properly, even by sending him directions about all important matters. Mir Jumla was especially very keen about the *dakchauki* and asked the *hajib* of Aurangzeb to arrange it carefully. Aurangzeb, in his turn, complied with his ally's

earnest requests often against his own opinion,⁸ and assured him not to be worried. But the growing aggressiveness of Qutb Shah enhanced Mir Jumla's anxiety; and he began to harbour feelings of suspicion that probably Aurangzeb was not taking adequate care of his *jagir*.

4. Aurangzeb tries to remove Mir Jumla's suspicions

Therefore, Aurangzeb had to try hard to clear the doubts of his ally. It is significant to note that the Viceroy, who often adopted a tone of rude indignation in his dealings with his suspicious father, the Emperor, was courteous and conciliatory beyond measure in his letters to his suspicious but masterful ally. The tone of Aurangzeb's letters of assurance to Mir Jumla was the same. He complained of the perfidy, malevolence and falsehoods of his enemies, instigated by evil counsellors, described the actual disorders and set out in detail the steps adopted by him to set matters aright. To allay Mir Jumla's anxiety, Aurangzeb sent copies of the reports of the spies and petitions of officers and of other well-wishers, copies of his own letters to various persons concerned and copies of his petitions to the Emperor, praying for orders.⁹ But each letter contained a peculiar personal note of supplication, which clearly shows that Aurangzeb could not afford to be haughty in his relations with Mir Jumla. In August, 1656, we find Aurangzeb pathetically taking exceptions to the attitude of the Wazir as follows: 'Keeping your mind in peace through imperial favours, do not think that I am not wishing your good. (Verse) You are in the mind of everyone. None else is your equal.'¹⁰

In some letters Aurangzeb showed how, in spite of being handicapped in the discharge of his duties by the Emperor's lack of confidence in him, he did his best, by raising an army in this province, and urging the "Keepers of forts and the frontier officials to be conscious of their duties and responsibilities and be ever vigilant and cautious." Repeatedly did Aurangzeb assure the Wazir that he had never neglected the management of his *jagirs* in the Karnatak or ceased to administer the necessary dose of threat to the enemies.¹¹

5. Aurangzeb's measures for defending Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions

In reality Aurangzeb took all necessary and possible steps to guard the Karnatak from the flood of dangers rushing through the gap created by Mir Jumla's departure. He gave adequate instructions to Qabad Beg, Mughal *hajib* at Golkonda, to see to the setting up of the *dakchauki* from Haidarabad to Sidhout. He ordered *diwan* Murshid Quli Khan and a veteran officer, Muhammad Tahir, to warn the *gomastas* of the local *tuyuldars* of the consequences of impeding its work. He made it plain to the aggressive Sultan that he would not allow any change in the *status quo*, any obstruction in the existing administrative arrangements and the enforcement of the *dakchauki*, pending the arrival of the Mir at Delhi. To occupy the Karnatak without imperial sanction, Aurangzeb pointed out to him, would not only be hasty but also unwise. It was bound to generate fumes of trouble, especially because Mir Jumla might adversely construe it before the Emperor. So Aurangzeb urged the Sultan to withdraw his men from the Karnatak frontier, and await imperial orders. But when the Sultan, incited by Dara, and ignoring Aurangzeb's warnings, continued to hinder the *dakchauki*, and did not recall 'Abdul Jabbar from the Karnatak, even after its bestowal on Mir Jumla, the latter was greatly worried over the consequent disorders in transmission of news. At the orders of the Emperor with whom the Mir had discussed the matter, Aurangzeb urged the Sultan to recall his men under 'Abdul Jabbar leaving only a few men for the administration of *mahals*, and sent a contingent under Ismail Beg to organise the *dakchauki* and to take a letter from the Sultan in the name of 'Abdul Jabbar and fetch the commander back. Mir Jumla persuaded the Emperor to depute Muhammad Sharif to Haidarabad to regulate the *dakchauki* and also requested Aurangzeb to send a letter to the Sultan through that messenger. Accordingly Aurangzeb warned the Sultan, both by a letter and through Muhammad Sharif (August, 1656), not to neglect the imperial *farman* and defy recent orders. Again, Mir Jumla held Qabad Beg responsible for the delays in the working of the *dakchauki*. He was found guilty of ineffici-

ency, dilatoriness in enforcing orders and 'subtle neglect' of many important matters. At the Mir's request, Aurangzeb punished 'Qabad and his Hindu companion', lest their example might prove contagious. The Viceroy dismissed the former from his post of *hajib*, and appointed in his place Ahmad Beg Najmsani, who was expected to act according to orders and send authentic reports to the Emperor about "the events, the intentions and the needs of the Sultan." Towards the end of 1656 Aurangzeb declared the *dakchauki* from Haidarabad to the end of the Karnatak known as that of the 'Khan' (i.e. Mu'azzam Khan) to be a part of the imperial system (*sarkar-i-jahanmadar*) as being the best way to safeguard communications, and urged on Qutb Shah to keep his hands off it, i.e., not to hinder it.

When Aurangzeb proposed to settle the affair of Kambam, Qutb Shah requested his son-in-law that Ismail Beg might not be despatched there. The Prince forwarded the letter to Aurangzeb, but warned his father-in-law that he was reaping the harvest of his own negligence and that 'any loss or disturbance in the affairs of that country would shake the props of your ancestral territories' (*tazalzul qawa'id wilayet maurusi*).¹²

Aurangzeb strongly reprimanded the Sultan for inciting the Hindu revolt and exhorted him as follows : 'I cannot understand what is the cause of this quarrel, whose result is nothing but destruction and what profit you and the *zamindars* hope to derive from (committing) this offence. Write letters of caution to the *zamindars*, recall your officers, otherwise...you will bite the finger of shame with the teeth of repentance in vain.' Learning of the imperial grant of the Karnatak to Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb at once despatched appropriate letters to all persons concerned through Haji Shafi, viz., the *zamindars*, and their generals in the Karnatak, the Mughal officers there (Qazi Muhammad Hashim, Krishna and Khawaja Muhammad 'Arif, Qabad Beg *hajib*) and Qutb Shah. The letter to the Rayal, in particular, contained 'fear and hope' (*bim o umid*). A Mughal contingent under Krishna and some officer of Aurangzeb went to Sidhout and, together with the army of Qazi Muhammad Hashim, defeated 'Abdul Jabbar. For sometime the Shah "in despair and in loss, restrained himself." Once again, the *dakchauki* began to run as before.

Towards the end of 1656 Aurangzeb threatened Qutb Shah with invasion, if he did not desist from inciting the *zamindars*, and recall his officers, from a few *mahals* of the empire which they had seized and send them along with Kamgar Beg, specially appointed for the purpose. He also asked the Sultan to help Kamgar in the realisation of the revenues already collected by his men before.¹³

With regard to Bijapur, Aurangzeb, even before getting on 21st June, 1656, a letter of Mir Jumla containing an account of the Sultan's activities, had arranged that Maluji, whose brother Mir Jumla had recommended before the Emperor for imperial favour, would fight the *qiladar* of Jinji and had asked Maluji's son as well to be on his guard. Realising that charges against Bijapur in the imperial court would be of no avail, Aurangzeb proposed to Mir Jumla to correspond in cypher. He also warned the Sultan through the Mughal *hajib* at Bijapur.¹⁴

While Aurangzeb was engaged in taking appropriate military action and writing letters of threat to the Deccani powers, to dam the flood of their activities in Mir Jumla's *jagirs*, he did not neglect to adopt suitable tricks of diplomacy. He kept up a busy but secret correspondence with Shahji Bhonsla, by the advice of Mir Jumla, whom he kept informed of the progress of negotiations. Shahji was to be utilised in protecting the Mir's Karnatak *jagirs* in return for some preferment in order to counter Dara's secret intrigues with the Sultans. He also wrote to him about checking the Hindu revolt, promising rewards, and asked Mir Jumla to write to him personally if he thought necessary. As Shahji expressed willingness to help the Mughals, Aurangzeb requested Mir Jumla to inform him of the orders of the Emperor on Shahji's petition. Probably an attack on 'Adil Shah's flank by Shahji was contemplated, for Aurangzeb concludes the letter with the following: "It is not my concern at all if the injury on this perfidious person ('Adil Shah) becomes irremediable; rather it is very desirable. (verse) What is good for you is also good for me....."¹⁵

6. Mir Jumla's suspicions of Aurangzeb unjustified

Munshi Qabil Khan's assertion that Aurangzeb's measures

in the Karnatak dominions of Mir Jumla were too many to be narrated in a letter is not fulsome flattery, but well-merited praise of the Deccan viceroy. In the light of these available materials, the actual steps taken by Aurangzeb, sometimes on his own initiative and sometimes at Mir Jumla's dictation, and the confident and sincere tone of the explanatory assurances offered by Aurangzeb and his *munshi*, one cannot but conclude that Mir Jumla's suspicions of Aurangzeb's good faith were not only unbecoming but baseless too, and that he showed lack of appreciation of the difficulties of Aurangzeb. It is easy to explain the suspicions by the long distance and the inevitable delay in getting news, which must have aggravated the sense of danger in the mind of the Wazir. It is also easy to see that the pitch of his mental tension remained unrelieved, as the letters, few and far between on account of disorders of the *dukahauki* usually crossed one another on the way. But it is impossible to justify them. They were, to a large extent, due to the policy followed by the Emperor and the Wazir. Both of them wanted the Viceroy of the Deccan to take the initiative in the matter of Karnatak defence, because he was the man on the spot. But whatever he did, either in the field of diplomacy or military action, was necessarily in the nature of temporary expedients. They were palliatives, not cures. And this was so, because they lacked the sanction of force. For one thing, the army of occupation of the Karnatak was necessarily reduced in strength on the departure of Mir Jumla. For another, circumstances beyond his control were working against him. As we have seen before, Dara's secret abetment of the ambitious designs of Qutb Shah, emboldened him to "stand firm in the field of obstinacy" and to flout Aurangzeb's repeated exhortations and threats. Both the Deccani Sultans were stirred to defiance of Aurangzeb's warnings by Dara's encouragement, the knowledge that the Emperor had no confidence in Aurangzeb and the exaggerated nature of the reports of the Emperor's demand of explanations from him. Aurangzeb plainly admitted before Mir Jumla: "My speeches and writings are unavailing". He further stated to the Wazir that there was no chance of the fulfilment of the hopes of the successful working of the *dakchauki* partly because of the obstruction of the *jagirdars* bet-

ween Indur and Burhanpur and partly because of the lack of sincerity of the men of the *dakchauki*.¹⁶

7. Scheme of a second Golkonda Campaign rejected by Mir Jumla

In this way, throughout the second half of the year 1656, Aurangzeb tried to disarm Mir Jumla's mind of suspicions as regards his management of the Karnatak. The Viceroy of the Deccan rightly held that the real remedy must come from Delhi. At first he wanted Mir Jumla to "manipulate the affair before the Emperor", by inducing him to send orders to the two Sultans warning them off their evil designs. But gradually the situation passed beyond the stage of showing "mere threats", and the time for applying the direct method of invasion came. He, therefore, emphasized on the Wazir the necessity of adopting a policy of reprisal against the hostile Deccani powers, and of securing the necessary imperial sanction by proper inducements and countermoves against Dara. "Even though I have not been negligent in my endeavours", Aurangzeb reminded Mir Jumla, "you, too, should endeavour by remembering that the closing of the door of disturbance depends on the Emperor's kindness so that no defect might crop up in that country (Karnatak)". Again, he informed the Wazir: "You know the affair of Golkonda well enough. As the *tadbir* of this affair depends on the sweetwill of the Emperor, you should place it in such a way that he takes away the teeth of lust from the Karnatak." To crush the formidable Hindu revolt, Aurangzeb, without being an alarmist, wanted Mir Jumla to take the initiative in fulfilling 'our objects' and also to persuade the Emperor to send an *imperial* force for driving away the Qutb Shahi army under 'Abdul Jabbar from the Karnatak, as "*a mere threat*" would not do. When the situation became precarious, and the Mughal messenger, Haji Shafi, could return from the Karnatak only with great difficulty, Aurangzeb asked Mir Jumla to seek the Emperor's sanction to come to the Deccan at once before it was too late. "And as the affairs there have passed out of control", so ran Aurangzeb's summons, "do what you consider best. If you want to settle these

disturbances, come quickly, so that we may try our best. Otherwise no effort will be fruitful in future. It is wellknown that you are one, at whose service big men are and that you possess wisdom and experience, knowledge and farsight; devise means of arranging the matter quickly and do not be negligent."

Finally, Aurangzeb suggested to Mir Jumla the plan of downright extirpation of Qutb Shah and so requested him to come at the head of an imperial army. "The gestures and actions of the Sultans and the machinations of these shortsighted persons are not unknown to you. For this reason I want to uproot Qutb ul mulk, and do not consider it advisable to retain him in his place. However, within a short time the affair of the Karnatak will be disposed of as it should be. After the arrival of my petition (to the Emperor) where this matter has been written clearly, you should prepare for coming to this side and endeavour in such a way that the object be translated into action quickly and that the imperial order is enforced without delay." Till then Aurangzeb proposed to raise an army in the Deccan, and if possible, to send it under a reliable captain to Qazi Muhammad Hashim so that they might reach the Karnatak quickly.¹⁷

It is thus clear that Aurangzeb urgently wanted Mir Jumla to lead an invasion of the Deccan. The course of events, — Qutb Shah's interference in his dominions in defiance of successive imperial *farmans* and orders and viceregal *nishans* and threats, the Sultan's instigation of the Hindu revolt, and planning of a large-scale assault with the help of Bijapur, and the difficulty of guarding his *jagirs* with the small army of occupation,—too, must have made it clear to Mir Jumla, that either he should persuade the Emperor to sanction Aurangzeb's plan of invasion or lose the fruits of his 12 years' toil and endeavour. Having agreed on the fundamental policy of launching an invasion of the Deccan, the two conspirators differed as to the plan. While Aurangzeb wanted Mir Jumla to deal with the Karnatak first, Mir Jumla wanted to begin with Bijapur. Evidently there arose some friction between the two allies on this point. In his suspense the Wazir became worried over what he considered to be the viceroy's hesitation or lack of response. The latter hastened to explain that he had repeatedly acted up to the

Wazir's advice. He assured him in the following terms: "How is it possible to show negligence in such an object whose value is beyond calculation ? Besides, how can I agree that such a vast country (the Karnatak) will pass out of hand, causing elation of enemies and your mortification ? God forbid this thought may find a place in my mind. Surprised to know that you have taken this for granted."¹⁸

Thus when it appeared that the problem of the ownership of the Karnatak would again give rise to another offensive in the Deccan, the death of the Bijapuri Sultan gave a new turn to the affairs and diverted the tide of invasion only against Bijapur.

8. The Karnatak during Aurangzeb's invasion of Bijapur in 1657-1658

Reserving himself for the Bijapur campaign, Mir Jumla induced the Emperor to sanction the deputation of Shah Beg Khan, then at Bir, a dependency of Betul, to the Karnatak to suppress the Hiudu revolt, and to overawe the Deccani Sultans by the threat of sending Mir Jumla against them. At the Mir's advice Aurangzeb ordered the Khan to start at once with whatever forces he had then at his disposal (5000 horsemen), without delaying over collection of the entire army, to gather men on the way and to effect a speedy junction with Qazi Muhammad Hashim and the *gomastas* of Mir Jumla. Accompanied by Sarfaraz Khan, Jadu Ray and his brother, Jauhar Khan and Udachram, Shan Beg set out from Bir on 30th November, 1656, reached Indur on 15th December, and proceeded to his destination, avoiding plunder of the Qutb Shahi ryots and injury to the standing crops of Mir Jumla's territories. To relieve the Wazir's anxiety, Aurangzeb sent him the latest despatch of the Qazi in original, together with a report of his own instructions to Shah Beg Khan, who was expected to reach the Karnatak by January 7, 1657.

The deputation of Shah Beg proved effective. Abdul Jabbar retired to Haidarabad. The activities of the "accursed Rayal", whom Aurangzeb wanted to neutralise, and of the other *Zamindars*, were now shifted from Mir Jumla's Karnatak to Bijapuri Karnatak.¹⁹

In the meantime the situation in the Karnatak had become complicated by some boundary disputes between Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla, arising out of the conflicting claims of their respective officers for realisation of revenues in certain places. The Sultan complained to the Emperor that Mir Jumla had not kept his promise of either paying him 4 lakhs of *huns* (20 lakhs of rupees) or allowing him to realise the revenues from his *jagirs* at Ellore and Rajmandri and other places south of the Kistna, and sought the Emperor's permission to collect the revenue with his own officials.

Mir Jumla was then at Delhi, trying hard to secure the Emperor's approval to the plan of the invasion of Bijapur. He now presented a befitting *peshkash* to the Emperor, worth 15 lakhs of rupees (26th November 1656), containing one big piece of diamond weighing 9 *tangs* equivalent to 216 *Surkhs* (or *ratis*) priced at 2,16,000 rupees, besides other valuable jewels and 20 elephants, 4 with gold and 16 with silver trappings. The Emperor confirmed the Sultan of Golkonda in the possession of the fort of Udgir and its dependencies but asked him not to encroach on Mir Jumla's territories, as the latter had remitted to the Sultan "the revenues of those places and spent a large amount for the upkeep of the forts". The Emperor added: "There are many diamond mines, located in the Karnatak..... and of those excavated there, the Khan has made a present of a big diamond weighing 9 *tangs* to me. You have never presented such a diamond as *peshkash* to me. Hence I confer the ownership of those places on him You should, therefore, give up the claim of ownership over the Karnatak and its mines. Inexperienced people are unable to protect this country from 'Adil Shah and the infidels of the Karnatak ' In case of transgression of imperial orders, the Emperor proposed to despatch Muhammad Amin Khan with a large army to govern the *jagirs* of his father, to protect them from the *zamindars* of the Karnatak and to reward him with those countries which he would conquer from them.²⁰

Not satisfied with the Emperor's decision, Qutb Shah took advantage of the Bijapur campaign to renew his aggressions on the Karnatak. He represented to Aurangzeb that Mir Jumla's men wanted to occupy some *mahals* of Udgir and Kambam,

which belonged to Qutb Shah from before and had been assigned to him by the Emperor. Aurangzeb, therefore, asked Shah Beg Khan

- (i) to reach the Karnatak soon, and according to the Mir's wish,
- (ii) to advise 'Abdul Mabud, an experienced and honest *Bakhshi* and *Waqianavis*, to send a report after enquiry into the dispute,
- (iii) to settle the matter with the help of Qazi Muhammad Hashim, and
- (iv) to arrange the *dakchauki* of Mir Jumla.

But, when Mir Jumla complained to Aurangzeb that Qutb Shah's officers had occupied his territories besides Kambam and Udgir and shifted their boundary 160 miles into Mir Jumla's *jagir* in the Karnatak, Aurangzeb directed Shah Beg Khan not to send 'Abdul Mabud at all, but to conduct the enquiry himself. If the Mir's complaint was true, Shah Beg was not only to chastise and oust the Sultan's agents but see that "not even a *kos* of village remained under the Sultan's occupation."

By July, 1657, Shah Beg found that the Sultan's complaint was false and that "no territory of Udgir, not even a single village had come under the occupation of Mir Jumla." It was only a ruse on the Sultan's part to capture some territories of Mir Jumla in violation of imperial orders. Accordingly, Aurangzeb ordered Shah Beg to inform him of the amount of the revenues of the places occupied by the Sultan's army, to restore to Mir Jumla's officers all villages except Udgir and to disallow any Qutb Shahi men to remain at Udgir except its *qiladar*.²¹

In the meantime Shahji Bhonsla, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Mughals in Bijapur and the Karnatak, sneakishly endeavoured to snatch away some portions of the Karnatak with the help of Siddi Jauhar, the Abyssinian *qiladar* of Kurnool. But he met "defeat after defeat" at the hands of the imperial officers and Mir Jumla's men, due to the defection of Siddi Jauhar, alarmed by the Mughal victories in Bijapur.

The Bijapur campaign had its repercussions on Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions in another way. It prevented him from providing adequate succour to his forces near Madras, then dangerously besieged by the local *zamindars*. Fortunately, how-

ever, Mir Jumla's experienced general, Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak, sprang a surprise attack on the Rayal's plundering cavalry. Even though the ambushade did not result in more than 100 casualties, it destroyed the morale of the Hindus. The Rayal and his "adjutant" Shahji had to retreat two miles to Arni, a strong castle, near Jinji. They tried to reinforce their army with the Bijapuris, but could not achieve much success in effecting a junction owing to the counter-moves of Tupaki.

With the perceptible improvement in the situation in the Karnatak, Aurangzeb ordered Shah Beg to return, after disposing of the affairs of Kokkanur and Gorumkonda, where Qazi Muhammad Hashim and other imperial officers had been stationed by Aurangzeb.²²

The part played by Mir Jumla in shaping Aurangzeb's policy and actions with regard to the Karnatak was not inconsiderable. True, he showed great nervousness over the whole affair; but while his feelings of suspicion of Aurangzeb's sincerity were—as we have seen before—unjustified, his nervousness was probably natural. No doubt Aurangzeb, being the man on the spot, took the necessary preliminary measures at the approach of every new danger. But Aurangzeb was in a sense afraid of the Wazir and was always keen in giving effect to his suggestions. It was Mir Jumla, who suggested to him the necessary diplomatic tricks (e.g. intrigues with Shahji) and directed him about the movements of troops and postings of officers and prescribed punishments to incompetent officers (e.g. Qabad Beg). Finally, with regard to all measures requiring imperial sanction, Aurangzeb was able to do nothing independently and had perforce to rely on Mir Jumla for inducing the Emperor to approve of an aggressive policy against the Deccan by counteracting the machinations of Dara, always friendly to the Sultans, and opposed of the Viceroy and the Wazir and who wielded a great influence over the Emperor. The task required infinite patience, considerable diplomatic skill and tact, great powers of persuasion, accurate knowledge of the Deccan affairs, and above all, limitless wealth, enabling him to outbid all other offers. Mir Jumla possessed all these in full measure and he may be regarded without much exaggeration as the brain of the Mughal policy towards the Karnatak in 1656-57.

9. The Karnatak during the War of Succession and after

On the eve of the War of Succession Mir Jumla was collusively imprisoned at Daulatabad by Aurangzeb and his property and artillery were confiscated (January, 1658). His Karnatak dominions, too, were now transferred to the government of Aurangzeb. This change in the theoretical position of the Karnatak was at once attended with an improvement in the state of its internal security. So, before marching northwards, (February) Aurangzeb reminded Qutb Shah of his 'past kindnesses' and warned him that he must not molest the people, ruin the peasantry and create any disturbance there during the absence of the Mughal army, so that the administration of the province 'might pass from theory to practice, i.e., might be effective in practice along with its theoretical transfer. Avowing 'friendship' with the Sultan and substituting the 'harsh and rude' envoy, Mir Ahmad Said by a gentler one, 'Abdul Mabud, the Viceroy, exhorted the Sultan to guard the frontiers of the Karnatak from enemies.²³

But, during Aurangzeb's preoccupation in the north, Qutb Shah wrested Gandikota and Sidhout from Mir Jumla's men, weakened by Aurangzeb's appropriation of his artillery, and completely disorganised the Karnatak. It was only after making himself "the supreme ruler in Hindustan,"²⁴ that Aurangzeb became comparatively free to turn to the Karnatak. He now sharply reprimanded the contumacious Sultan for his hasty and impudent action and ordered him to recall all his men and restore all the captured territories of Mir Jumla, who was about to be released from his mock-prison and appointed viceroy of Khandesh. The Sultan was further ordered not to hinder the *dakchauki* of the Khan running from Haidarabad to the Karnatak and set up according to imperial orders.²⁵

Yet Qutb Shah persisted in his aggression. He sent reinforcements of the Shahi defenders of the castle of Poonamallee which had rebelled against Mir Jumla's authority in August 1658 but had been besieged and subdued by Mir Jumla's general, Tupaki Krishna, who had also besieged the English as well as the Dutch at Pulicat. Thus in October, the Golkonda Commander, Qutb Beg, not only inflicted a serious defeat on Tupaki,

who was wounded and taken prisoner, but even subdued the whole district round Madras, including San Thome.²⁶

After defeating Dara at Ajmer (March, 1659), and during the war with Shuja, Aurangzeb had again to take the Sultan to task for having neither settled the affair of Krishna Rao, an imperial officer, nor given up the idea of occupying Mir Jumla's estates in the Karnatak. The Emperor threatened to depute the Mir at the head of any army to the South after the end of the war in Hindusthan and to annex Golkonda together with the Karnatak. "The Karnatak has been conferred in him (Mir Jumla)", so ran the imperial fiat, "as a reward by way of imperial favours.....and it cannot be taken away by any one by means of deceits.....Recall your men and give up the forts and *mahals* to Mir Jumla's men.....If you persist in your actions then, after the rains, Hindustan would be cleared of enemies. Mir Jumla would go and annex Golkonda and Karnatak by force.....The time has come for uprooting you. In no time will your palace of honour be levelled to the dust of dishonour...You will wash your hands of your country." When Shuja left Rajmahal for Tanda, Aurangzeb sent Mir Ahmad Khwafi, entitled Mustafa Khan, to the fort of Gandikota for controlling and administering the Karnatak, the scene of repeated conflicts between the Sultans and Mir Jumla.²⁷ Thus Aurangzeb's policy towards Mir Jumla's Karnatak pulsated with his needs, preoccupations and fortunes during the war of succession.

After Mir Jumla's appointment as Mughal Wazir and consequential departure from the Karnatak, his agent "Tapa Tap" (? Tabatabai) remained as the custodian of Mir Jumla's interests and property at Masulipatam and Golkonda. Friction arose with Qutb Shah's officers over their seizure of goods on Mir Jumla's ships at the port. To the Emperor's remonstrance against it, on the eve of the Bijapur invasion Qutb Shah replied: "In accordance with (my) repeated exhortations not one officer of the port has the power (? audacity) to seize, on the plea of 10% duty, the property and goods of Mir Jumla, which are on his ships and which belong to the imperial government, and to wrangle about the matter." The Sultan, however, pleaded, that the realisation of customs on the merchandise found on the ships of Mir Jumla and of others was a long standing practice

and wished that it might be continued.²⁸

In Golkonda, too, "Tapa Tapps" tried, after his master's death, to evade escheat of his property by the imperial government, by removing some "household stuffs and goods" from Mir Jumla's warehouses, before they were sealed by Aurangzeb's ambassador, at Golkonda.²⁹ So great was Mir Jumla's influence in Golkonda, that even four years after his death, his son Muhammad Amin was highly respected there and his agent or broker, "Mier Mameth Hosseyn Taffa Tappa" (Mir Muhammad Husain Tabatabai?) virtually acted as master of the port.³⁰

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Adab*, 102a (to Sadulla) ; 58a-b (Qutb to his daughter) ; 58b, 58b-59a (Emperor favourable) ; 190a ; Tabrezi. 2b, 4a ; GD. (Bond of Qutb Shah) ; *Aurangzib*, I. 220, Ramgir circular in the Nizam's dominions. Town 79° 30' E, 18° 47' N (ASI. Sh. 40).

2. 'When the affair at Delhi will be to your liking, there will be no disturbance in the control and administration of the Karnatak' (Aurangzeb's reply to Mir Jumla's letter of 15 June, 1656). *Adab*, 83a, 190a, 60a, 60b-61a (*farman* of grant) ; Tabrezi, 141b-144a ; Thomas Symonds to Surat (2 August, 1656), EFI. X. 91. Approximate time of grant, second half or end of July.

3. A Madras letter (7th July, 1656) reports ; "As for this country about us, 'tis indifferent, quiet, continuing yet under the Nabob's government, whose officers still remain in places of command though the army be much lessened by his departure.' EFI. *op. cit.* ; *Adab*, 58b. (Qutb Shah's activities). At Narwar on his way to Delhi. Mir Jumla heard of the activities of the *qiladar* of Jinji and at once wrote to Aurangzeb (June 14, 1656). *Adab*, 82a-b. For the Rayal see my article 'Mir Jumla's relations with the English. 1655-8, JBORS. March, 1940.

4. *Adab*, 86a-b (Dara inciting the Sultan), 59b-60a, 87b (Kambam), 63a-64b (revenues).

The letter to Surat of Aug. 2 (EFI. *op. cit.*) refers to the despatch of an army of 10,000 horse not by the Mir as Foster thinks but by Qutb Shah.

5. *Adab*, 192b-193a and 87b (both Sultans instigating) ; 59b-60a, 69a-b, 62b-63a (Aurangzeb's charge sheet). Fort St. George to company (10 Nov. 1656), Love I. 165, 166 and n ; Madras to Surat (21 Oct. 1656). and Madras.

to Bantam (5 Nov. 1656), EFL. X. 91-93, 95, 97 ; Aiyangar, Pr. IHRC. XV. 31-32 ; *Further*, i. 367,

The words *Vizadores*, *Talliares* usually mean watchmen, but here these mean 'village headmen' (Foster). Port *Visitador* or inspector or overseer is loosely used in the same sense. EFL. 93 & n ; *Hobson-Jobson*, 678 (Tam. Talaiyari).

6. EFL. X. 95-98 ; Love I. 190-1 and n ; 166, 167, n ; 168n. Vengum Raja of factory records is to be identified with Pohiraju Venga. SVH. 311.

Foster and Aiyangar hold that Peddapollium was possibly Peddanaikpetta, a 'suburb' or 'ward' of Madras. Srinivasachari (HM 53) identifies it with Periyapalayam, near Madras. Siege of Pulicat perhaps began between 21 October and 5 November, 1656.

That Koneri Chetti, a Telugu merchant of Madras and an associate of Sheshadri Nayak, was the general of the Rayal was very striking (Love i. 167n). More striking was the fact that the Nawab's general was also a Telugu, even though there were many Muslims who could have been considered for the post. But it was an old practice to have Telugu officers in high command in Golkonda, which continued (cf. Golkonda Siege of San Thome, 1673). Love, i. 168.

7. *Adab*, 63a, 64a.

8. Aurangzeb wanted Muhammad Ishaq, probably an officer of Mir Jumla, to remain with him in the Deccan and discharge the affairs of his master. But he sent him to Delhi, according to the Wazir's request, recommending that a proved and loyal officer like him should be amply rewarded by Mir Jumla (*Adab*, 83b).

9. *Ibid*, 86a-b (Reply to Mir Jumla's letter of 24th July, 1656) ; Aurangzeb wrote : 'What I have done for your jagir before and after the enforcement of Emperor's order, according to my capacity, is not unknown to you. (*ibid*, 87b) ; Letter of Khwaja 'Arif in reply to his, together with the copy of the letter of Qazi Md. Hashim, expressing his sincere anxiety to Ibrahim Beg (*ibid*, 193b-194a).

10. *Ibid*, 87a-b. This suggests that Aurangzeb thought that Mir Jumla, now risen to eminence, was forgetting his friendship with himself ; and a man like Aurangzeb was not likely to forget this, though for the present he had to put up with it, as he could not afford to be indignant with the Wazir, to him invaluable.

In his reply to Mir Jumla's letter of 24 July, Aurangzeb assured him : "I have done and I am doing what is necessary for me. How can I neglect this matter, with which very many affairs are connected ?.....The mind of no other person is so dear to me as yours.....Consider me as doing more than what yourself could have done. When your sincerity and faith and your news are described in my court, my mind's garden is refreshed. It is not necessary to admonish you about your sincere faith. Rather I am confident about it. Make me pleased by always writing to me letters of sincerity and do not harbour (feelings of) separation in your mind. There is no limit of eagerness." *Adab*. 86a-b.

11. *Ibid*, 88a, 88b-89a, 192b-193a. In his personal letters to the Wazir,

Munshi Qabil always harped on Aurangzeb's sincerity. Mir Jumla need not write any thing to Aurangzeb, as

- (i) he was among the latter's special confidants,
- (ii) Aurangzeb ignored all petitions of Qutb to gratify him,
- (iii) the care of his *jagirs* was the duty of Aurangzeb's *wakils*, and
- (iv) Aurangzeb was more attentive to his affairs than his own.

ibid. 190b-191b, 193b-194a, 195a-b.

12. *Ibid.* 58b, 59a-b, 59b-60a, 193b-194a, 69a-b, 87b, 88b-89a; 190b-191b, 63a-64a (imperial), 82b-83a, 83a-b, 86a-b, 82b.

13. *Ibid.* 62b-63a. 190b-191b (7 letters), 88b-89a, 87b. 86b, (Qutb baffled).

Qabil Khan desired the Mir had 'another officer like Krishna'. (*Adab*, 193b-194a). Aurangzeb ordered Qutb Shah to give up the Karnatak and release the wounded Krishna to enable him to resume his duties. (*ibid.* 59b-60a), 63a-64a (to Qutb).

14. "The offence revealed by the report of the Bijapuri *harkaras* is not unexpected of the Bijapuris. But nothing of the kind has been known in the imperial court and there is no possibility of sending such information there. 'Adil Shah has no right (power) to extend the hand of aggression towards that country.....As a precautionary measure, you have done well in informing me of this. I have asked Abdul Fath Munshi that when the letters would be received, the necessary words would be explained by interpreter and communicated to the Emperor and the original letter would be given to you.'" (Aurangzeb to Mir Jumla). *Ibid.* 82a-b, 86a-b.

15. *Ibid.* 88b-89a, 86a-b.

Advised by Shahji Aurangzeb wrote to Antaji Pandit (*ibid.* 87a-b) and also to others (*ibid.* 193b-194a).

16. EFI. X. 91 (army); *Adab* 87b, 86a-b (Dara inciting); 85a-86a (Sultans defiant); 87a (Aurangzeb's efforts futile); 82b-83a, 83a-b (*dakchauki*).

17. *Adab*, 86a-b, 87b, 86b-87a; 192b-193a; 88b-89a, 194b-195a. The fear of Qutb Shah of an attack on Haidarabad and the Karnatak was thus justified. See Tabrezi 141b-144a (Pr. IHC. 1941-606-9). 144a-145a.

18. *Adab*, 88b-89a; 61a. See Section C For Bijapur.

19. *Adab* 91b-92a, 195b-196a (at Bir); 87b-88a, 159a-b (Order sent through Muhammad Rashid); 159b, 195a-b (Mir's advice); 159b-160a, 89b-90b, 90b-91a, 89a-b, Tabrezi, 144a-145a (Qutb Shah's explanation, Mir Jumla to be sent to the Deccan).

20. G.D. 6b-9b (Shah Jahan to Qutb Shah); JBORS. Dec. 1940. pp. 276-77; Waris, 118a; *Storia*, I. 237.

Ellore (81° 12'E. 16° 42'N) is 46 m. S.W. of Rajahmundry; Rajahmundry (81° 48'E 17°N) is on the Godavari; both are in dt. Masulipatam, including the Godavari delta. Udgir in text is Udayagiri 77° 21'E 14° 52'N in Nellore dt. ASI. Sh. 24, 25, 22.

21. *Adab*, 160a-b, 89b-90b, 91b-92a, 160b-161a, 70a-b, 161a-b.

Shah Beg settled the Udgir dispute in about six months (Jan-July) and was rewarded by Aurangzeb with its *qiladari*.

22. *Ibid*, 161b ; Tabrezi, 144a-145a ; for the Hindu siege of Mir Jumla's men, Madras to Surat (10 Sept. 1657), EFL. X. 136.

Kokkanur is in modern Lingsagar district of Madras. Gorumkonda (78° 40'E, 13° 50'N) is at the southern end of Cuddapah district.

23. *Adab*, 65a-66b, 71b-72a ; Tabrezi, 35a ; *Aurangzib* i. 335-40 for Aurangzeb's worries and actions.

24. *Aurangzib*, II. 473 ; first coronation of Aurangzeb took place on 21st July, 1658 (*op. cit.*, 615).

25. 'Awake from the slumber of negligence...Do not make any delay in carrying out my orders. Do not make yourself the target of danger. When the time of forgiveness will pass away, you will get condign punishment for your actions...The majesty of Padshahi is the sample (*namuna*) of the power of God. Save yourself from it.' (Aurangzeb's *hukmnama*). *Adab*, 67a-b ; GD. (Sultan Muhammad to Qutb Shah). The Asiatic Society Ms. MM. 92b-94, gives the date of Aurangzeb's letter as 1069/1658-9.

26. See *Adab*, 167a-68b. Fort St. George to Bantam (28 Aug. 1658), and HT. (Series I. Vol. xxiii, 639) in EFL. X. 173-6. The letter refers to the destructive effects of these military operations on the trade of the East coast. The Dutch at Pulicat had come to terms with Tupaki.

27. *Adab*, 66b-67a ; AN. 440 ; MA. 27-28.

28. Tabrezi, 144a-145a.

29. FFL. X. 273-4.

30. Bernier, 195 ; Dutch records in EFL.

In 1661 Krishnappa Nayak, Mir Jumla's governor of Poolesere (Pondicherry), was considered by the Dutch to be powerless to protect them against Shahji, who captured Tegnapatam in 1660-61. BDR, 16th May, 1661. p. 126 quoted in SG. 146.

SECTION C

The Bijapur Campaign of 1657-58

1. Initiative in launching the Bijapur expedition taken by Mir Jumla

It was during the Wizarat of Mir Jumla that the plan of the Bijapur campaign of 1657-58 was hammered out. True, the details regarding it, like those of the Golkonda campaign of the preceding year, were settled by Mir Jumla and Aurangzeb together. But while the initiative in the case of Golkonda was taken by Aurangzeb, that in the case of Bijapur came from Mir Jumla. We have already seen in the last chapter how Aurangzeb wanted Mir Jumla to secure the Emperor's sanction for an invasion of the Deccan and to deal with the Karnatak first in order to chastise Qutb Shah for his aggressive activities there and to satisfy his suppressed ambition of conquering Golkonda. But the frequently repeated urgent summons of the Viceroy to come at the head of an army to wrest the Karnatak from Qutb Shah were wasted on the Wazir. Mir Jumla thought that Qutb Shah and the Rayal were exhausted volcanoes, not serious enough to deserve immediate attention, that Bijapur was the enemy *par excellence*, which should be crushed first, and that the chastisement of its Sultan was the necessary pre-requisite for ensuring the defence of the Karnatak and peace in the Deccan peninsula. Probably that is why Mir Jumla advised

Aurangzeb to inform the Emperor of the real motives (*haqiqat-i-qasd*) of both the Sultans, so that he might convince the Emperor of the urgency of sanctioning the Bijapur campaign and counteract the peace-moves of Dara. The fact that the Wazir induced the Emperor to send Shah Beg Khan to dispose of the pressing matters in the Karnatak instead of himself going there shows that he reserved himself for the Bijapur campaign on which he had set his heart. Towards the close of October, 1657, Aurangzeb wrote to Mir Jumla: "in this matter, from beginning to end, I have acted on your advice and done nothing against it, and after this, the beginning of other matters, too, will be made on your advice,....." Again, while it became subsequently necessary for Aurangzeb to conciliate 'Adil Shah, he observed in a letter to him: "At Mir Jumla's wicked advice I had attacked your kingdom as well as Golkonda....."

Aurangzeb could not but depend on the advice of his confidant and ally, Mir Jumla, because he possessed an unrivalled knowledge of the Deccan affairs. Having risen to power in the Deccan, he was fully conversant with the secrets of the Deccani courts and administration, the ins and outs of the land and the exact prices of all the chief officers there. Steadfast in the pursuit of his ends and ever in search of an opportunity to achieve them, he also knew how to engage himself in such works as would facilitate the designs of his ally with whom he was bound by ties of a secret agreement. When, therefore, such an expert confidant and guide preferred to deal with Bijapur first, Aurangzeb had to fall in with his views.

Indeed, the two conspirators had, for sometime past, contemplated the subjugation of Bijapur as it was implicated in the subversive activities of Qutb Shah in Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions. Even before the death of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, they had been carrying on a correspondence about the necessity of an eventual chastisement of the Bijapur Sultan, for which they thought of preparing the ground by winning over the Bijapuri officers and generals, and securing imperial sanction. The full story of Mir Jumla's efforts to persuade the Emperor is not known. It is, however, certain that it took about 4 months for him to induce the Emperor to give up his idea of recovering Qandahar from the Persians, and sanction the plan of his.

leading an expedition to the Deccan after the death of 'Adil Shah. Aurangzeb was highly pleased at the news and wrote to the Mir : "I have come to know that after the death of 'Adil Khan you will be permitted to come to this direction...I believe you will keep your mind firm and cool in the *tadbir* of this affair and fulfilment of its materials, as the best of all *tadbirs*, so that no defect may again come when you will begin the work. Concentrate all your efforts on the end that there might be perfect peace, so that our labours may not be in vain, and matters may be settled as desired."¹

2. The tasks before Mir Jumla

Learning of the death of Muhammad 'Adil Shah (4th November, 1656) and the elevation of his son, 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, from Muhammad Aman, the Mughal *hajib* at Bijapur, on 10th November, Aurangzeb at once informed the Emperor of it, soliciting his permission to launch an expedition against Bijapur. To Mir Jumla he wrote : "If the news about (the death of the Sultan of) Bijapur proves to be true, and the plan of that side, which is necessary for the success of that big undertaking be such that the matter may be well accomplished, you will place these matters before the Emperor and do what is necessary for his work."²

Thus the task before Mir Jumla was now twofold. He had to induce the Emperor to sanction the plan of invasion by counteracting Dara's moves, and also secure for Aurangzeb that complete authority and control over men and resources which the Viceroy had demanded. Indeed, Dara, fearing that Aurangzeb's position would be strengthened by the adhesion of the invading army under Mir Jumla, wanted to take away the plank from beneath Aurangzeb's feet by suggesting that the Emperor should lead the Deccan expedition. When Aurangzeb's plan of summoning the army of Malwa, then under Shaista Khan, was foiled by Dara's intrigues, the Viceroy requested Mir Jumla to dexterously persuade the Emperor immediately to send the Malwa army or to bring at least a part of it with himself. the rest coming with the Emperor. "It is necessary", he wrote to Mir Jumla, "to bring the army of Malwa. If I summon everyone

will not come but, if the Emperor himself comes quickly all of them will come." Aurangzeb's exasperation is clearly expressed in his appeal to the Wazir to come : "Such sorts of hindrances can be remedied very easily. But to neglect to make *tadbir* (careful manoeuvring) to remove the cause of the big hindrances is not wise. See that you are included in the imperial army; rather it is difficult to prosecute the matter without you. Without you it would not be possible to continue this work, and obtain its results."

So Aurangzeb held that the speedy arrival of Mir Jumla in the Deccan was the first requisite for the success of the campaign. In letter after letter Aurangzeb exhorted the Wazir to consider the present chance to be imperative and come quickly without delay so that the opportunity might not slip away. 'The *tadbir* for the accomplishment of this work depends on your departure...You are well-aware of the peculiarities of this country: if we meet you will be able to say many things and place before me what is necessary for every matter.' Without Mir Jumla Aurangzeb did not consider it expedient to take his own army beyond Ahmadnagar. 'So if you really wish to come here and come soon, all affairs will be quickly disposed of...' About the middle of December 1656 Aurangzeb again wrote to the Mir : 'My eagerness to meet you is indescribable. Come soon, as it is not desirable to defer the disposal of this matter and time is passing away. The sooner it is done the better.'²

The second condition of success in the Bijapur invasion was the possession of an efficient artillery. In accordance with the Emperor's orders, Mir Jumla informed Aurangzeb that a few cannon should be sent to the frontier of Bijapur from the forts of the Deccan. As there were big pieces of artillery only in the Daulatabad fort, Aurangzeb ordered Mir Shamsuddin, *darogha* of imperial artillery, to inspect them there. He informed Aurangzeb that there was only one big cannon which might be of use, but it was very difficult to bring it and even in that case it would not be of much effect. Moreover, the artillery of other forts in the Mughal Deccan was also considered to be insufficient to demolish the fortifications of the Golkonda fort and some other forts. So Aurangzeb requested Mir Jumla that, if he really "wished to prosecute this matter" and come to the

Deccan, he should bring his own artillery with him with the Emperor's permission. The Mir was also asked to communicate to him the Emperor's views on the matter. Indeed the Wazir's artillery was an indispensable material for success in this enterprise and as it had not then passed beyond Nander, it could be easily brought back from there. Later on, after getting news of Mir Jumla's arrival, Aurangzeb asked him to send his artillery towards Dharur.

It was also necessary to have in the army captains of tried loyalty and efficiency. Realising that "no reliance could be placed on friendship of anyone now", Aurangzeb asked Mir Jumla to bring some officers along with him, viz., Shah Nawaz Khan and Mirza Muhammad Mashhadi, who had been summoned to court, and whose connection with Aurangzeb was not unknown to the Mir, and also Saifuddin (son of Tarbiyat Khan deceased), *darogha* of the imperial *qur-khana*.³

3. The Bijapuri officers and army seduced by Mir Jumla and Aurangzeb

Meanwhile Aurangzeb was busy seducing the Bijapuri officers. Though Mir Jumla had not yet arrived in the Deccan, his experience in intriguing at the Deccani courts stood Aurangzeb in good stead in this matter. First of all, the Bijapuri Wazir, *Khan-i-Khanan* Muzaffaruddin Ikhlas Khan, was easily won over.

But Mulla Ahmad Natia of Bijapur proved a harder nut to crack. As early as July 1656, Aurangzeb had asked Mir Jumla to win him over. But the Viceroy had come to know of the Mulla's relations with others and realised that he was, "after misleading his master", and strongly opposed to any diplomatic overtures of the Sultan with the Mughals. On behalf of Aurangzeb Qabil Khan asked the Mir, who had a great friendship with the Mulla, to endeavour to wean him, provided he had faith in his friendship. Otherwise the Mir was to give 'hints' how to give disturbance caused by him without delay. Mir Jumla wrote some letters to the Mulla to persuade him to adopt a pro-Mughal attitude, and sent their copies to Aurangzeb (on 5 November 1656). Aurangzeb not only asked the Mughal *hajib* at Bijapur at once to send these to the Mulla through a secret

spy but also proposed to write to him through *harkaras* who would hand it over to him in any way the Mulla considered best. To Mir Jumla Aurangzeb replied : "If he (the Mulla) followed my advice, well and good; otherwise he will have to repent and reap the fruits of his actions." As the Mulla was "unable to control his nature, which was to create disturbances", Aurangzeb asked the Mir to "so awaken him from sleep that he became favourable" to them. About December Aurangzeb not only assured Mulla Ahmad but took the help of Ikhlas Khan and it was at the latter's advice that the Mulla visited the Mughal ambassador at Bijapur and expressed a desire to join Aurangzeb. However, Aurangzeb distrusted him and decided to wait till the coming of Mir Jumla. "What you think seasonable after your arrival will be done", he wrote to the Mir.

Moreover, Siddi Jauhar of Kurnool, who had ravaged some villages of Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions (? Kokkanur and Gorumkunda), expressed repentance and agreed to join Aurangzeb.

Towards the beginning of December, 1656, Aurangzeb informed Mir Jumla of his measures for winning over Shivaji. The latter's agent waited on Aurangzeb, proposing that if the Maratha leader was allowed to hold the Bijapuri Konkan which was under him and given a good *mansab* and that country was given as its *tankhwah* (pay), he would transfer it to the empire. Aurangzeb agreed to his requests on certain conditions and also informed Shahji of the same terms. He also assured Mir Jumla that he would inform him on getting his reply. "If they followed our commands," wrote Aurangzeb, "well and good, otherwise, they would suffer punishment at the hands of the imperial army."

The dissensions among the Bijapuri officers following the death of Muhammad 'Adil Shah enabled the Mughals to easily win over the Bijapuri soldiers. "My whole endeavour", Aurangzeb wrote to Mir Jumla (on or some time after 23rd December), "is to see that the Bijapuris come to this side by any means, so that the famous generals will themselves come over to us even with a little encouragement." Ghazi Khan, son of Randaulah Khan, 'Abdul Qadir Dhaktu and Shaikh Mustafa Junaidi, Haji Khan Miana, Yasowant, Mustafa Khan and several other lead-

ing captains of Bijapur promised to join Aurangzeb, who hoped to seduce several other high nobles with the help of Mir Jumla after his arrival.⁴

The necessity of seducing the Bijapuris as a convenient means of scattering the Bijapur army naturally raised the question of finance. "It is imperative", Aurangzeb urged, "to conciliate the deserters from Bijapur; without money such big matters cannot be accomplished, and without exciting their cupidity they cannot be won over." Aurangzeb, therefore, sent an account of the state of the public money in the Deccan to Mir Jumla. The Emperor had forbidden any expenditure from the reserves of 20 lakhs in the Daulatabad and Asir forts; and the 30 lakhs stored in other forts would not suffice to meet even a year's expenditure of the Mughal Deccan. So the Viceroy asked the Wazir, as one who knew "this affair better than any one else," to secure the Emperor's permission to spend the Golkonda indemnity of 10 lakhs of rupees, then stored at Daulatabad, in defraying the cost of "some urgent works" i.e., to use the amount for offering bribes to the Bijapuris.⁵

4. Mir Jumla starts for the Deccan

The tactful wazir pursued Aurangzeb's policy adroitly and succeeded in baffling all the hostile moves of Dara. By giving a befitting present to the Emperor, the Wazir made Shah Jahan believe that the conquest of the Deccan would be an easy task and Mir Jumla himself undertook to accomplish it. Lured by the dazzling prospects of possessing the diamond mines of the Deccan, the Emperor over-ruled the objections of Dara and Jahanara. Instead of leading the expedition himself as suggested by Dara, the Emperor sanctioned the invasion on November 26, and allowed Aurangzeb full power to proceed in the matter as he thought best.

Mir Jumla gained Aurangzeb's point against Dara even as regards the despatch of the Malwa army. The Emperor ordered Khan Jahan Shaista Khan to hasten to Daulatabad and await the arrival of Aurangzeb there. A vast army of 20,000 in all, including more than 60 mansabdars, was commissioned to reinforce the Viceroy. *Farman*s were sent to those who were either

at their homes or at their posts, commanding them to join Aurangzeb. The Wazir was one of those officers, *amirs* and *mansabdars* who get permission from the Emperor direct. He now received a special *Khilat*, and a big knife, studded with gems, an ornamented dagger/sword (*khanjar murassa*), 2 horses (one Arabi, the other Iraqi) with gold and gold-plated trappings; one elephant with silver trappings, and female elephants with silver *howda*. From the day of his first visit till then, he received presents valued at 7 lakhs, of which 5 lakhs were in cash and 2 lakhs in horses, elephants and other articles.

On the same day the Wazir's son, Muhammad Amin, was ordered to officiate as *diwan* till the return of his father with his rank (of 3,000 *Zat* and 1,000 *Suwar*) increased by 1,000 *Zat*.

Thus Mir Jumla's victory over Dara in the game of diplomacy seemed to have been complete. But the Crown Prince's eleventh hour manoeuvres considerable dimmed the lustre of his opponent's success. The Wazir had to leave his son, Muhammad Amin and the rest of his family as hostages at Court. Again, if we believe Manucci, three days before Mir Jumla's departure, Dara bought off 80 of his European artillerymen.⁶

Very probably these new moves of Dara were responsible for delaying the Wazir's departure. He took leave of the Emperor on November 26, but actually left Delhi for the Deccan on December 1, 1656. Proceeding via Gwalior and Kularas and maintaining an active correspondence with Aurangzeb, he arrived at Aurangabad on January 18, 1657. His slow advance was largely due to the fact that the *mansabdars* did not promptly join him. Some were evidently partisans of Dara; some were slow to leave their jagirs; and many were delayed on account of genuine reasons. Even towards the end of December 1656, Aurangzeb had to send fresh letters to generals like Mahabat Khan, Najabat Khan and Mirza Sultan, asking them not to delay in meeting Mir Jumla. He assured the Wazir that the defaulters would be punished and asked him to complain to the Emperor against them if he thought it advisable, so that messengers might be sent to them to expedite their start. Aurangzeb advised Mir Jumla not to wait for the reinforcements from Northern India, as the majority of the auxiliaries were not expected to reach

Aurangzeb before 19th February, 1657.⁷

Aurangzeb was getting perturbed over Mir Jumla's delay. Feeling that he could not wait for him any longer without missing his chance, he asked the Wazir to come quickly as the time for his march on Bijapur was near at hand. In his reply to Mir Jumla's letter of 24th December, written from Kularas, Aurangzeb stressed the desirability of immediate action so as to take full advantage of certain factors then working against Bijapur, viz., (i) mutual jealousies among the common soldiers and captains of Bijapur especially between Khan Muhammad, Afzal, Fateh Sarnaubat and the sons of Bahlol, (ii) the advance of the *zamindars* of the Karnatak, who had released their own territories from the control of Bijapur, and (iii) the rebellion of Shahji Bhonsla, who, with a view to establishing his own authority, had created disturbances and occupied some *mahals* of the Karnatak, and had entered into a league with Sri Ranga Rayal. "I am unable to make any further delay", the Viceroy urged upon the Wazir, "such an opportunity will not come again. Come very quickly, so that we together might accomplish this task. Do not delay. Remember I am ardently looking up for your arrival here." Indeed, in his intense eagerness to meet the Wazir, Aurangzeb asked the astrologers to fix dates for his arrival and urged on him to come accordingly.⁸

5. Aurangzeb sounds Mir Jumla about strategic objective

The inability of Mir Jumla to arrive in time left the Viceroy of the Deccan in great suspense regarding the possibility of carrying out the Emperor's orders.

According to the Emperor's clear instructions, issued after the news of the death of 'Adil Shah and before giving permission to Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb was to start towards the Bijapur frontier and conquer the whole country along with the Mir if possible; otherwise Aurangzeb was to annex only the Nizamshahi territories (ceded to Bijapur in 1536), spare the dominion of Bijapur proper in return for an indemnity and acknowledgment of Mughal suzerainty, and then to proceed to conquer Golkonda which was easier than Bijapur. Moreover, the astrologers had

fixed 8th January as the date of Aurangzeb's march against Bijapur. But Mir Jumla's opinion as to whether he selected Golkonda or Bijapur first was not definitely known by beginning of December. By the middle of December it became clear that Mir Jumla would not be able to join Aurangzeb in time. Nevertheless, Aurangzeb, doubting whether "such a chance would come again", wanted to conquer Bijapur first and punish Qutb Shah subsequently for snatching away the Karnatak territories of Mir Jumla, as Golkonda might be seized whenever he desired. So in reply to Mir Jumla's two letters (11th and 14th December, 1656), Aurangzeb sought the Wazir's opinion as it would help Aurangzeb in the matter of preparations. If Mir Jumla also considered it advisable to go first to Bijapur,—either for conquering the whole country or a part of it and taking a handsome indemnity for which a better opportunity would not come, and then to Golkonda and the Karnatak either the same year or the next, then Aurangzeb could "keep his mind at rest" and start on that auspicious date towards Bijapur.

Aurangzeb communicated his difficulties consequent on this uncertainty to the Emperor. But the Viceroy did not consider it prudent to start alone. He informed Mir Jumla that he would engage in hunting (at Ramdwah towards Bijapur frontier) till his arrival and might postpone the date of expedition in case of the Wazir's inability to arrive in time. About the middle of January 1657, Aurangzeb learnt that Mir Jumla would arrive on 18th January, and at once informed him that the direction of expedition would be fixed after consultation with him. Aurangzeb proposed that on the very day of his first interview with Aurangzeb, Mir Jumla should start and accompany the prince on hunting and discuss the matter on the way. If it was settled to go towards Bijapur, well and good; otherwise they would turn towards Golkonda.⁹

6. Role of Mir Jumla in the Bijapur Campaign

On 18th January, 1657, Mir Jumla arrived at Aurangabad and on the very same day proceeded, along with Aurangzeb, to invade Bijapur. The advance of the imperial army, encumbered with heavy artillery and siege materials, was slow. They reached

Andur on 28th February, and leaving Wali Mahaldar Khan there to guard the road and arrange for provisions, encamped near the fort of Bidar.¹⁰

The impregnable fort of Bidar, control over which was "the key to the conquest of the Deccan and the Karnatak," was defended by its veteran *qiladar*, Siddi Marjan, with 1000 cavalry, 4000 infantry, *tufang chis*, rocketmen and *top-andaz* and he had effectively strengthened its battlements and fortifications, and regulated ingress and egress. Along with Aurangzeb Mir Jumla inspected the fort, and threw up entrenchments (*malchars*) outside. In the teeth of deadly artillery fire from the fort on their defenders, Mir Jumla succeeded in carrying the cannon in two days to the edge of the ditch and began to fill it up. The Bijapuris successively attacked the entrenchments of the invaders, but were repulsed with heavy casualties. Finally the Mughals damaged two bastions by their artillery discharges and destroyed the battlements of the lower part of the walls. On 29th March, 1657, Muhammad Murad scaled the walls of the tower opposite Mir Jumla's *malchar*. Wounded by the explosion of a powder-magazine, on which had fallen a spark from a rocket thrown by Mir Jumla's artillerymen, Siddi Marjan surrendered the fort.¹¹

After the capture of Bidar Mir Jumla remained with Aurangzeb when Mahabat Khan was deputed to ravage Bijapur territory and clear the road of hovering Bijapuris. Leaving Bidar on 27th April, Mir Jumla came with Aurangzeb to Kalyani, 40 miles west, on 3rd May. The same day they inspected the bastion and fortifications of the city and invested it. In spite of the artillery discharges of the enemy, Mir Jumla and other nobles began raising the entrenchments and *damdama* (raised battery) and were determined to reach the fort by any means. The defenders launched a heavy attack on Mir Jumla's entrenchments but had to retire after sometime with several casualties. Their hail of *top* and *tufang* took a heavy toll on Mughal soldiers. But Mir Jumla with great care, effort and supervision, carried the trenches to the edge of the ditch and thereby weakened the position of the defenders (12th May). At the same time the ditch was steadily filled up during night. By 23rd May, 3/4ths of the ditch were filled up and the fort was on the point of being captured. As Aurangzeb concentrated on capturing the fort, the

Bijapuris endeavoured to divert the attention of the besiegers from it. When a force of 30,000 Bijapuris advanced to 4 miles of the Mughal camp, Aurangzeb marched upon them on 28th May, leaving a screen of tents round the fort. The Mughal Van under Mir Jumla, Najabat Khan, Sujan Singh Bundela, Dilir Khan and others faced the 'Adil Shahi Van under the valorous sons of Bahlol, fighting obstinately. As the Mughals firmly stood their ground in the face of a general attack on all sides, the wily Adil Shahis were emboldened to advance against them (*Ke an rubah bazan sherak shudah pesh amdand*) but were barred by the dashing Mughal cavalry. In the meantime Mir Jumla, along with Shah Nawaz Khan, Rao Chattarsal, Shamsuddin Khweshgi, and Mahabat Khan, had attacked the enemy from right and left, and, by dexterous charges broke the enemy's rank.

The protection of the siege trenches demanded that the Mughals should return to the fort in the evening. For, the garrison, "by hurling down lighted gunpowder and burning naptha and grass (bundles) reduced the plants (with which the ditch was filled) to ashes; the work of bridging the ditch had to be begun anew; the assault was delayed." Orders were given for filling up the ditch with stones and mud. On 22nd July, 1657, Aurangzeb sent his eldest son with Mir Jumla, Najabat Khan, Rao Chattarsal, Mirza Sultan, and Dilir Khan against a resolute band of 'Adil Shahi defenders, undaunted by defeats. They were exhorted to conduct the operations in such a way as to crush down the enemy. Sighting the enemy's banner after an advance of 48 miles, the Mughal corps darted like lightning on the centre of the 'Adil Shahi force and, driving them back, pursued them for 4 miles. As the victors marched, they burnt and looted all the villages on both sides and at the end of day they reached the *qasba* of Kulbarga where they swept the whole country "with the broomstick of plunder," but spared the tomb of saint Sayyid Gisu Daraz.

At last the ditch was filled up with stone and mud, the bastions were destroyed by Mir Jumla's artillery fire on 29th July, and the imperialists scaled a tower. Dilawwar Habshi, the defender of the fort, capitulated on 31st July and on 1st August, 1657, he delivered the keys of the fort to the victors.

The Emperor suitably rewarded Aurangzeb and several

officers. Mir Jumla was honoured with a special robe and was confirmed in the possession of some *mahals* of the Karnatak province (*mahal-i-wilayat*) yielding a revenue of 4 crores of *dams*, which he had acquired before joining imperial service from the Rayal and which had come under Shahjahan, as reward.¹²

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Mir's reasons, *Adab*, 89b-90, 88b-89a, 200a-b, 162-3, 88a-b. cf. MU. III. 535-6. Persuasion of the Emperor, *Adab*, 88a; Qandahar expedition postponed, *Storia*, I. see *ante*, p. 90, & n.; EFI. X. 73, 64; Ball, I. 395-6. *Aurangzib* i.233, 338.

1a. Unfolding his preparations to the Wazir, Aurangzeb wrote to him that his army would march to the frontier on 18th Safar/26 November, and that he would wait at the environs of Ahmadnagar till the arrival of the imperial order and the assembling of the Deccan army. But "such a big undertaking," Aurangzeb plainly admitted, "could not be effected without adequate preparations and complete authority."

2. Waris, 118a; *Adab*, 88a-b (*hajib's* letter), 88a; *Storia*, I. 238 (Dara's suggestion), 89b, 89a-b (Aurangzeb's views), 195a-b; GD. (Aurangzeb to Qutb); *Aurangzib*, i. 258-60.

3. *Adab*, 89b-90b (Aurangzeb's reply to Mir's 2 letters of 11th, 12th December); recommends Md. Amin Khan to Emperor; 89a, 194b-195a (Qabil to Mir) 90a. Dharur (76° 10'E, 18° 45'N) is in the Nizam's dominions (ASI. Sh. 36).

4. *Adab*, 91a-92b (Khan Muhammad); 193a-b, 87b-88a, 91b-92a (Mulla Ahmad); 87b-88a (Siddi Jauhar); 89b-90b (Shivaji), 90b-91a (others); *Aurangzib*. I. 235-6, 263-4 (Mulla Ahmad).

5. Golkonda indemnity collected by Haji Ahmad Sa'id (about Dec. 1656). *Adab*, 195a-b; 191b; Waris, 121b; *Aurangzib*, I. 339-40 n. The total amount of cash was 64 lakhs, including 4 lakhs worth Bijapur present brought by Abul Hasan in third quarter of 1656. *Adab*. 191a.

6. *Storia* I. 238 (objections of Dara and Jahanara); 239 & n (mentions Salabat Kh. possibly Khwajah Mir Khwafi d. 1692 or 1693). MU. ii 742; Manucci thought that the Mir started to conquer Golkonda (*Storia* i. 226). He refers to a condition that Aurangzeb should not 'enter the lists of war' but remain at Aurangabad as governor is not true as the Emperor gave him full powers to deal with Bijapur (p.239). Evidently Dara tried to restrain Aurangzeb but failed due to the Mir's diplomacy. ZNA. 15; Waris 118a, b (63 officers, official changes and gifts), EFI. X. 73, 74 (Mir's presents to the Emperor); SHN; Aurangzeb, it seems, wanted to utilise the case of

Raya's presents to Mir Jumla as a pretext to incite the Emperor against Ali Adil Shah. We do not know what the Mir did but the invasion was sanctioned before the Mir got Aurangzeb's letter. *Adab*, 195b-196a, 152b; Tabrezi, 141b-144a (30,000 cavalry); Poem; MU. iii. 535 (deputy wazir); QN 87; Agra letter dated 4. 12. 1656; EFI. X. 73 (Khaliulillah Kh.).

7. *Adab*, 117b-118a, 145b, 152b, 89b, 90b (Mir's letter to Aurangzeb 11th & 14th Dec.); 90b-91a, 91a-b (Mir's letters from Gwalior 17.12 and Kularas 24.12); 92a; *Aurangzeb*, I. 238 (Aurangzeb's reply dated 23.12).

8. Aurangzeb learnt these details from the reports of the *hajib* at Bijapur, and of news-announcers and *harkaras*. He sent the copy of the first to Mir Jumla and intended to send it to the Emperor. *Adab*, 91a-b, 91b-92a; 196a-b; (either 18th or 23rd January or any other convenient date).

The astrologers fixed the date of the meeting of the two after 11th January, 1657, either 18th January or 23rd January. "Even though", the impatient Viceroy entreated, "owing to my intense desire to see you, a day is as a year, and your separation is unbearable, and it is inexpedient to postpone the invasion of Bijapur the distance between us is so great that if you cannot meet me on 14th, you must meet me on either of these days." Subsequently Aurangzeb asked him to come on 18th January if possible or according to his convenience, if not on any of these dates.

9. *Adab*, 89b-90b (Emperor's instructions: Aurangzeb receives 2 letters of Mir dated 11 and 14 Dec.); Qabil Kh's letter to Mir, referring to officials accompanying Shah Beg who started on 30 Nov., must have been written in beginning or middle of December; 196b-197a (date of starting for Bijapur), 197a (hunting); Aurangzeb gets Mir's reply on 14th Jan; 117b-118a (to Shah Nawaz Kh.); 145b, 152b (To Multafat Kh.).

10 AS. 2b. Chandor in the text is 70 miles N.W. of Aurangabad and entirely out of the way in proceeding towards Bidar. The place is evidently Andur, c. 10 miles west of Bidar (ASI. Sh. 33). See *Adab*, 109b, for the date of arriving here.

The Sultan of Golkonda, apprehending that the invasion of Mir Jumla was directed against himself, made a pathetic appeal to the Shah of Persia for help, on ground of religious affinity, and offered to pay the expenses of a Persian contingent. Tabrezi, 141b-144a.

11. AS. 2b-3a; BS. 365; *Adab*, 110a-b; ZNA. 15-16. Bidar fort was 4500 yds. in circuit and 12 yds. in height and encircled by 3 separate ditches each 25 yds. wide and 15 yds. deep. The *Maasir ul Umara* (iii. 536) states that Aurangzeb, acting on the advice of Mir Jumla, expeditiously captured Bidar.

12. AS. 3a-5a, 5b (rewards to Mir Jumla); MM. 86a-87a; ZNA, 15; BS. 365 (date of siege of Kalyani, 27 Rajab); Storia I. 239; To Surat, 10.9.1657; EFI. X. 135-6; QN. 87.

One Muazzam Khan is mentioned by Kambu as having been ordered to recover some oxen captured by the Bijapuris, but he was undoubtedly son of Shah Nawaz Khan, mentioned in Waris, 118a.

SECTION D

Mir Jumla Hurled from Office

1. Mir Jumla removed from the Wizarat

While the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan and his ally, Wazir Mir Jumla, were nearing the meridian of their victory in Bijapur, certain events had been brewing at Delhi which were destined to arrest their advance. The seesaw of Mughal court politics had begun to work. The Bijapuris had appealed to Dara, whose jealousy of Aurangzeb had been rising in proportion to the latter's success. The Emperor, who had sanctioned the campaign at the persuasion of Mir Jumla, now ordered peace at the intercession of Dara. The imperial order fell like a bomb-shell on Aurangzeb, whose ambition was once more throttled at the hour of victory as in the preceding year, as well as on Mir Jumla, whose work of wiping out the kingdom of Bijapur was undone. By the treaty of August, 1657, the Sultan of Bijapur agreed to pay an indemnity and to cede Parenda together with its dependencies and the forts of the Nizamshahi Konkan and the *mahal* of Wangi. It was arranged that Mir Jumla was to establish *thanas* (military outposts) in Parenda, the Nizamshahi Konkan and Wangi and then to come back to the imperial court after the realisation of the indemnity to be collected by Qazi Nizama. Aurangzeb was ordered to return to Bidar after deputing Mir Jumla to take charge of the forts of the Konkan.ⁱ

A worse humiliation was in store for Mir Jumla. Shahjahan fell ill (6th September) and nominated Dara as his successor. Dara could no longer afford to retain the 'confidant and partisan' of his rival as the Wazir. Towards the end of September, 1657, Mir Jumla was removed from the exalted office of the Wazir for having acted against certain orders. His son, Muhammad Amin Khan, who had been acting as his deputy as diwan was forbidden to go to the office. While some officers like Mahabat Khan and Rao Chhatarsal were ordered to come back immediately from the Deccan to the court, Mir Jumla was commanded to return after securing the surrender of Parenda.²

2. Mir Jumla sent to Parenda

Dara could hurl Mir Jumla from power but not from Aurangzeb's confidence. In fact, Aurangzeb, tormented by anxiety and perplexed by contradictory projects, had now to depend totally on Mir Jumla, just as an old and decrepit person leans on his staff. Urged by the Emperor to realise the *peshkash* and to take possession of the forts and the places, mentioned in the treaty of peace, Aurangzeb, before retreating from Kalyani to Bidar on 4th October, 1657, sent Mir Jumla towards the fort of Parenda on 30th September to take delivery of it, and instructed him to supervise Qazi Nizama's collection of war-indemnity at Bijapur and to recall those jewels and elephants already paid to him till then for calculation of their value.

Before leaving for Parenda, Mir Jumla advised Aurangzeb in long and private deliberations "on every possible contingency in anticipation." Even after his departure Aurangzeb corresponded with him almost daily and confidential officers and servants like Shaikh Mir, 'Abul Fath (Qabil Khan), Muhammad Sharif and the page of Krishna served as the intermediaries in the lively exchange of oral and written messages between the two allies.³ Aurangzeb, who expected that Parenda would be secured easily instructed Mir Jumla to arrange for the administration of Parenda after its occupation and also to defend Bir against the sudden raids of Shivaji (termed 'the son of a dog'), when that district was left vacant by Nasiri Khan's departure for Delhi. Towards the end of October, 1657, Aurangzeb solicited Mir

Jumla's opinion as regards sending an army against Shivaji, whose men had driven back to Junnar its new Mughal faujdar, Muhammad Yusuf, who, advancing to a place beyond Kalyani by a forced march, had beheaded a rebel leader named Habsh Khan, aided by Shivaji.⁴

Mir Jumla's task was far from easy and Aurangzeb's initial hopes of a smooth and early occupation of Parenda were soon belied. The latter's retreat from Kalyani emboldened the Bijapuris to attack isolated Mughal bands and their general, Afzal Khan, crossed the Bhima river with a view to recovering the Kalyani and Bidar districts. The Mughal collectors at the *mauzas* of Naldrug, especially at Muzamgaon were attacked by the men of the fort (8th October). Thereupon 'Abdul Hamid Deccani, thanadar of Ankalkot, came to Allund. Such activity of the Bijapuris frightened the Mughals. So Aurangzeb favoured the continuance of the *thanas*, and suggested that the Mir should ask Ibrahim Khan and Ikhlas Khan to control the Bijapuris for some days till the conclusion of the collection, when the *mahals* would be returned. If Mir Jumla did not approve of the course of maintaining the *thanas*, Aurangzeb would withdraw the imperial troops. The Bijapuris even intercepted near Naldrug Aurangzeb's letter to Mir Jumla and the deciphered copy of a secret letter of the Viceroy's Delhi agent, and so came to know of the true state of Shahjahan's health and of Dara's attitude towards his younger brothers. Thus they could bide their time with impunity, knowing fully well that Aurangzeb, preoccupied with preparing for a contest for the throne, would not be able to put adequate pressure on them.

The difficulties caused by the interception of news by the Bijapuris were aggravated by the absence of a regular system for transmission of messages. Even some of Mir Jumla's couriers proved "foolish and short-sighted", worthless or unreliable, who either gave false news to Aurangzeb or disclosed secrets. They were accordingly punished and superintendents were appointed over Mir Ghazi and another *harkara* and also over Mir 'Abdul Hasan for exercising strict censorship. The son of a secret *harkara* was expelled from the army. Owing to the uncertainty in transmission of news, letters to Mir Jumla could not be sent through any one except official couriers. But this caused

considerable delay. All these factors considerably hampered Mir Jumla's task of securing the enforcement of the peace-terms. Hence he suggested to Aurangzeb the imperative need of establishing a *dakchauki*. Aurangzeb approved of the proposal and executed it, especially as it became more necessary than before to get news of the surrounding places.⁵

3. Mir Jumla as the guide of Aurangzeb

If Aurangzeb had to depend on Mir Jumla for taking delivery of Parenda in obedience to the imperial mandate, he had to depend still more on the latter for securing the throne of Delhi. Having perfect confidence in Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb was resolved never to deviate from his advice in any matter and not to begin the struggle for the throne without his counsel. Indeed, as Aurangzeb's attention was divided between Delhi and Parenda, his instructions to Mir Jumla pulsed with the news of Delhi, sent by 'Isa Beg, the court agent of the Viceroy. If Shahjahan's condition was worse, he urged on his ally to leave Parenda to join him at once. If Shahjahan was better, he permitted Mir Jumla to persevere further at Parenda. When, however, Aurangzeb received no news of Shahjahan he was left in utter suspense and, fearing that the worst had happened, appealed to Mir Jumla to advise him on all matters and come to him immediately to his rescue.

Receiving no news of Delhi for about 25 days (c. 17th Sept.-12th Oct.) and apprehending the death of the Emperor, Aurangzeb decided to endeavour to get the throne without further delay, and asked Mir Jumla (mid-October) to quickly dispose of the Parenda affair by winning its *qiladar* "through any means." While giving Mir Jumla the distracting news of Shahjahan's loss of control of affairs by a *nishan-i-khas* of 15th October, Aurangzeb urged him in no case to drag on for more than two or three days, as there was none by his side. But he still deferred to Mir Jumla's discretion, saying "Whatever you decide is right."⁶ As Aurangzeb was distracted at the new turn of events, his Secretary urged Mir Jumla to keep the news concealed from the Bijapuris till the arrival of a reinforcing army, sent by Aurangzeb, to come as expeditiously as possible, soon,

after taking the very of the fort as there were "a few matters for consideration in which would mean loss of chance." Striking a personal note, Qabil Khan wrote to Mir Jumla. "If your separation from Aurangzeb is painful for you, God knows how much depressed Aurangzeb himself, knowing your worth, is... your beneficent presence before him is a convincing proof of prosperity. At this juncture there is no well-wisher and confidant except you."

Harassed by anxiety at the news of Shahjahan's worsening condition and just bereft of his wife (October 8), Aurangzeb left Bidar on 18th October in conformity with Mir Jumla's advice given at the time of parting. It was useless to linger there after the disclosure of the news of the court to the Bijapuris. He now proposed to go to Pathri and await news of the Emperor. It was inexpedient to go to Burhanpur and send Muhammad Sultan towards the capital before the death of the Emperor. Apprehending, however, that the two Sultans might adopt delaying tactics on learning of his projected advance to Delhi, he asked Mir Jumla to send the Prince to Ahmadnagar. In a highly perturbed state of mind Aurangzeb again pressed on Mir Jumla (19th Oct.) to expedite the capture of Parenda. The Viceroy admitted that he was almost at his wit's end, and, as affairs had passed out of his control. "My mind", he expressed, "is so distracted that I can decide nothing, I can formulate no plan. I have no friend and confidant but you. Next to God's grace, I count on your well-wishing and guidance along the right path. It is your duty to inform me always of your opinion regarding every matter so that I may act accordingly." However, on getting news of a slight improvement in the Emperor's condition (21 October) he was heartened enough to ask the Mir to come only after occupying Parenda.

On receiving (October) a secret message from the Collector, of Agra, Aurangzeb concluded that "Shahjahan was either dead or a helpless invalid." In either case "the great design" should be accomplished before it was too late. Therefore he exhorted Mir Jumla to come away even before securing Parenda, as it was "not advisable to delay in a matter which brooked no delay, in expectation of one, which bristled with difficulties". In case Shahjahan recovered and demanded an explanation, Aurangzeb

hoped to give a plausible one for not having secured possession of Parenda.

Learning (22nd October) of Dara's assumption of power at Delhi, Aurangzeb thought of sending Muhammad Sultan with an army to Burhanpur to prevent imperial officers like Nasiri Khan from proceeding north at the imperial summons, to call up the local *zamindars* and raise a new army. But since this would be an open and deliberate defiance of imperial authority, too difficult to be explained away, if Shahjahan recovered, Aurangzeb sought Mir Jumla's opinion about the despatch of Muhammad Sultan to Burhanpur. "...As in this matter from begining to end, I have acted on your advice and done nothing against it and, after this, the beginning of other matters, too, will be made on your advice... if you think advisable that even after publication of such news (Dara's assumption of power), Parenda might be captured and the shortsighted Deccanese made to carry out the pledges, and you do not consider it desirable to send Md. Sultan towards Burhanpur,... I shall send him to Ahmadnagar. He will quickly reach there and if you agree, he may go to Parenda. If, on the other hand, you consider it useless to persist in a matter, where defects have cropped up—like hammering a cold iron—and waste further time, give up the war, negotiate an *ahdnama* and return to Aurangabad, so that by consulting you, I may devote myself to the accomplishment of "the great design." My army is going to Pathri with Muhammad Sultan. I hope to get your letter by then. If you agree, Muhammad Sultan will go to Ahmadnagar and I will go to Aurangabad, otherwise Muhammad Sultan would go to Burhanpur and I will wait there till you return. Reply quickly, giving your opinion."⁸ Mir Jumla did not approve of the despatch of Muhammad Sultan to Burhanpur. In fact, the idea had been abandoned as useless, even before the arrival of Mir Jumla's letter, as the imperial nobles had already crossed the Narbada.

4. Failure of Mir Jumla to secure delivery of Parenda

Aurangzeb's complete dependence on Mir Jumla's counsel and implicit faith in his judgment concealed a fundamental difference in the aims of the two collaborators. Throughout

these months of hopes and anxieties, plannings and vacillations, Aurangzeb's supreme object was never to allow the Parenda affair to prejudice and destroy his chances for 'accomplishing his "great design" of securing the throne of Delhi. On the other hand, Mir Jumla, undaunted by any difficulty and unmoved by any other consideration, tenaciously persisted in the task of securing the fort. At first Mir Jumla followed the policy of winning over the *qiladar* of Parenda. In accordance with Mir Jumla's suggestion of 14th October, Aurangzeb wrote a *nishan* to the *qiladar*, sent it to Mir Jumla on 17th October and asked the *qiladar* not to cause any difficulty in handing over the keys of the fort to the Mir. After leaving Bidar Aurangzeb again asked Mir Jumla, an "expert in administration" to "win over the *qiladar* by any means." At Mir Jumla's suggestion, too, Aurangzeb wrote a *nishan* to Muhammad Aman, the Mughal *hajib* at Bijapur, but Aurangzeb asked the Mir to write to the Bijapuri prime minister Ikhlas Khan what was necessary.⁹

But the policy of using the golden key failed. Mir Jumla then resorted to force. Condemning Aurangzeb's suggestion to send Muhammad Sultan to Burhanpur, the Mir asked the Viceroy to send him together with his own army from Pathri to Parenda, in the hope that this show of force might cow down the Bijapuris. Mir Jumla's proposal did not appeal to Aurangzeb. In the first place, it would involve a division and hence weakening of his armed strength. "Where are soldiers", Aurangzeb asked, "that some might go with him (the prince) and some with me? Of those who are already here, it is not settled whether they would remain with me or not, after the arrival of the order (of recall), real or fictitious. On the supposition that the small army of Muhammad Sultan go to that side and that even I detain by force those who want to go to Hindusthan, with what army shall I be able to accomplish this design? Again, of what use will it be to send Muhammed Sultan without a strong army? Of what avail will it be if I send him with the army at his disposal? Secondly, Aurangzeb held that the policy of employing force towards Bijapur would prove futile in view of the rapidly worsening political situation consequent on Dara's assumption of the reins of power. The Emperor could do nothing against his advice. The Gujrat Viceroy had been changed and a change in

the viceroyalty of Malwa, held by Shaista Khan, was also imminent. The remedy, Aurangzeb held, lay in beginning the work for getting the throne without any delay. In this, as he claimed, his ideas were right.

Sceptical of the wisdom of Mir Jumla's advice though Aurangzeb was, he praised it as "well-conceived" just to gratify him. Ignoring its attendant difficulties, he sent Muhammad Sultan to Parenda with a hastily collected force on 4th November, and exhorted his son to follow the Mir's advice in every respect, on the ground that it was "right and conducive to our prosperity." The Viceroy also requested the Mir to advise his son whenever necessary.

Most probably Mir Jumla expressed in his letters to Aurangzeb some apprehension of incurring imperial displeasure for his failure to secure Parenda in time, for we find Aurangzeb assuring the Mir that the Emperor must have been aware of the attitude of the Bijapuris and the vacillation of the *qiladar* of Parenda. Ascribing this to the very fact of the recall of the officers to Delhi, Aurangzeb wrote, "Peace be on you, Nawab! when the *farmans* had been issued, and the nobles had taken the road to the Court, you were pretty aware of the result of this affair. This group (the Bijapuris) had prayed to God for such an event and for this reason repeated exhortations had been sent (by me) to you not to labour after the affair as you did, as it would never come to pass but would cause loss of time." However, Aurangzeb now expected Mir Jumla to do everything possible to be free to meet him.¹⁰

Mir Jumla's policy of using force also failed. Within a week of the arrival of Muhammad Sultan Mir Jumla admitted his mistake in a letter to Aurangzeb (9th November). Even the indemnity could not be collected by Qazi Nizama from the Bijapuris, who had received encouraging letters from Dara. However, Aurangzeb sounded Mir Jumla as to the policy to be adopted towards the Bijapuris and the planning of the struggle for the throne, "as the secrets of the army of the empire, and the movements of the local troops, and the account of the revenue, the plan of attacking the enemy, the time, the condition and the opportunity" were best known to him.¹¹

5. Mir Jumla to wind up the Parenda affair and conciliate the Bijapuris

During all these months of suspense and anxiety, of patient but futile toil, Aurangzeb had kept the Mir fully informed of the developments at Delhi, the events in Gujrat and Bengal,^{12a} and also of his own preparations to enable the latter to give him the proper advice regarding the future line of action.¹² Very likely Mir Jumla advised Aurangzeb about the policy to be followed with respect to Murad¹³ and Shuja, though we do not know what detailed advice he gave.

The recall of imperial nobles from the Deccan, and the publication of the news of the Emperor's loss of control over all affairs at Delhi and of Dara's assumption of power, sufficed to convince Aurangzeb that the Parenda affair could not be settled even by force. Aurangzeb naturally became anxious to complete his preparations for contesting the throne. But this he could not hope to accomplish without having Mir Jumla by his side, and Mir Jumla could not withdraw from Parenda before securing it without acknowledging discomfiture. Aurangzeb entreated Mir Jumla to solve his dilemma. If his quick return was indispensable so as not to let slip "the chance of accomplishing the really necessary matter," he must put a bold face even over his retreat. For Mir Jumla, it was above all necessary to conciliate the Deccani Sultans so that they might not create a diversion in the south the moment Aurangzeb moved northwards to contest the throne. In fact, the conciliation of the two Deccani Sultans was the indispensable pre-requisite for "strengthening the foundation of prosperity"—as Aurangzeb wrote, at the end of October, 1657. Aurangzeb shrewdly endeavoured to conciliate 'Adil Shah by shifting the responsibility for the invasion to Mir Jumla and even representing to him that it was "at Mir Jumla's wicked advice that he had attacked Bijapur as well as Golkonda." He also expressed his desire that "the fort of Parenda and its dependent territory, the Konkan and the *mahal* of Wangi, which have been annexed to the empire, together with that portion of the Karnatak which had been granted to the late 'Adil Shah—except the forts and the *mahals* which, after the transfer of Mir Jumla, had been annexed with the *Khalsa-i-Sarkar*"—

should be left to him as before.

Realising, however, that the best man to conciliate the Bijapuris was Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb instructed him to wind up the Bijapur affair. "On the whole," he wrote to Mir Jumla, "give up all ideas of collecting *peshkash* and conquering countries. Only see that, by dint of your good treatment, we may be relieved of them (Bijapuris)." And he again communicated to him, "My real object is that the Bijapuris, being favoured by your kind acts and assurances, may not think of creating trouble and in this way, by your conciliatory steps, a new army should be enlisted. There is no time to accomplish the matter by force. In this extreme situation you should try to make apparently sincere professions of friendship. Do whatever is possible without losing time".¹⁴

The *modus operandi*, suggested by Aurangzeb, was a curious mixture of threat and diplomatic conciliation. Mir Jumla was to publish the news of the arrival of Prince Muhammad Sultan and of Aurangzeb and so overawe the Bijapuris to yield. He was given a free hand in winning over the pro-Mughal and pacific Bijapuri prime minister, Ikhlas Khan. He was to explain to the Bijapuris that the war waged in pursuance of the Emperor's orders was going to be ended as he had now lost control of policy, that Mir Jumla and Ikhlas Khan were mediating before Aurangzeb for negotiating a non-aggression pact despite the latter's orders and that the Mir would renounce the claim to indemnity and the territories on condition that the Bijapuris would "honour this exemption, remain steadfast" to the treaty and not claim Bidar, Kalyani and other adjacent regions and not wage war against the Mughals.¹⁵ Thus the Mir was so to manoeuvre affairs as to create the impression that the Bijapuris were specially favoured.

But this move, too, ended in smoke, owing to the murder of Ikhlas Khan on 11th November at the instigation of Mulla Ahmad Natia, a bitter enemy of the Mughals. So Mir Jumla now followed a policy wholly divorced from ethical considerations and entirely guided by exigencies of the moment. He sought to effect a speedy settlement of the Bijapuri affair by winning over the instigator of the murder of the Bijapuri Wazir. Seeking Aurangzeb's opinion on the matter, Mir Jumla forward-

ed a letter of Mulla Ahmad Natia, written to himself, to the Viceroy on 18th November, 1657. In a cautiously-worded reply, Aurangzeb practically approved of Mir Jumla's policy.¹⁶

6. Mir Jumla's retreat from Parenda

Realising Mir Jumla's further stay with the Prince at the foot of the fort of Parenda to be inadvisable lest the Bijapuris might cause further trouble, Aurangzeb asked Mir Jumla to come away, postponing the delimitation of the frontiers to a subsequently convenient date. To lure the Mir, Aurangzeb suggested a campaign against Qutb Shah for the sake of recovering Kambam. Mir Jumla could send Muhammad Sultan to Ahmadnagar, after detaining him there for sometime longer, if he thought it desirable.

On the other hand, Mir Jumla asked Aurangzeb (18th November) to come to him to punish the Bijapuris. Aurangzeb, while agreeing that their chastisement after "such a nefarious action (murder of Khan Muhammad) on their part" was overdue, considered it useless to go there personally. "Even during the lifetime of Khan Muhammad", observed Aurangzeb, "the Bijapuris did nothing but practise deceit and falsehood. Mulla Ahmad, from the very beginning, tried his utmost to spoil this matter. It can never be accomplished. The army of this province, after a year's hard campaigning, has lost heart on hearing of their Emperor's illness and has been unsettled in various ways. They are in greater trouble than can be described." So Aurangzeb asked Mir Jumla to come back to Bir without "wasting time over a spoilt affair."

After lingering on at Parenda, in expectation of the Viceroy's reply to his own letter, Mir Jumla arranged to go to Bir with Muhammad Sultan. Aurangzeb, learning of this arrangement from the Prince's letter of 26th November, asked the Mir to halt at Bir, if he had already started; and if not, he might stay on (i. e. at Parenda) for a fortnight with the Prince if he considered it advantageous to do so.

In reply to Mir Jumla's letter in cypher, Aurangzeb informed him of his "harassing anxieties", and explained why he had been pressing for his hurried return : he would lose his chance

for the throne (in case of the Emperor's death) if the Bijapur affair was protracted and his scattered forces could not be concentrated.¹⁷

About 6th December, Aurangzeb summoned Muhammad Sultan from Parenda in order to send him to chastise the contumacious *Zamindars* of Burhanpur and to purge the country up to the Narbada of rebels. Aurangzeb sent Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam to Parenda and advised Mir Jumla to stay with him at Bir, and to make another effort "to bring the Bijapuris to their senses" with the help of an army to be sent by Aurangzeb. Here, about the middle of December, Mir Jumla had three confidential interviews with Aurangzeb's secretary.¹⁸

7. Mir Jumla recalled to the Court

In the meantime, Mir Jumla, getting an inkling of Dara's machinations at the Court from Muhammad Amin Khan's letter (of 6th November) had sought Aurangzeb's advice before replying to his son. On or after 9th November Aurangzeb asked the minister to counteract Dara's moves, adding: "It is not necessary to teach wisdom to Lukman. Whatever will strike him will be according to the canons of wisdom. In reply to the order of the Eldest Prince (Dara), it seems expedient to write a judicious preamble and to counterbalance falsehood with falsehood, according to your far-seeing knowledge and inherent wisdom and dictates of your illuminating discretion. Write whatever seem desirable."

But Mir Jumla's attempt to baffle Dara's moves failed. Aware of Aurangzeb's alliances with Murad and Shuja, early in December, 1657, Dara sent letters of recall in Shahjahan's name to Mir Jumla and other remaining generals, as their continued stay in the Deccan was likely to prejudice his own cause and strengthen Aurangzeb's military position. Aurangzeb received the imperial *farman* on 19th December. It threw Aurangzeb to the lowest depths of despair. But, however ominous to Aurangzeb might have been Mir Jumla's departure from the Deccan, however much would Aurangzeb, aware of events at Delhi and of Dara's successful war with Shuja, have liked Mir Jumla to remain in the Deccan as his own right-hand

man, he could not defy the imperial order. The disgruntled Viceroy had to send the order to the Mir on the 22nd. "Friend", so ran the Viceroy's plaintive message to the minister, written in his own handwriting, "God assist you ! What shall I write about my own troubled state or describe how the days pass over me? I have no remedy save patience."¹⁹

8. Mir Jumla arrested by Aurangzeb

The time for action had at last come for Aurangzeb. Apprehending that the conjunction of Mir Jumla, an experienced, able, intelligent and shrewd officer, a past-master in diplomacy, a veteran general, and above all, owner of immense wealth, with the Crown-Prince would spell disaster for himself, the Viceroy of the Deccan at once made up his mind to foil Dara's latest move. Aurangzeb asked that *Jumlat-ul-mulki*, the Mir, to leave Bir about 27th December along with Muhammad Mu'azzam and not to set out for Delhi before seeing him. In a most flattering letter to the Mir, the Viceroy described him as his best friend and most devoted well-wisher and lauded his profound wisdom. "I know", he remarked therein, "you are faithful to your word. Your intention in going to Hindustan was and is no other than to increase my power and grandeur and to make me succeed in my heart's desire. You have often said within my hearing, 'I wish for life only that I may see the master of mankind (Aurangzeb) on the throne; and in realising this aim I value not my life or property.' Now is the time to display your devotion. I do not need others in making the necessary equipment for this business, while you are alive. I care not for those (officers) who have been estranged from me by reason of my partiality to you. Come to me, so that with your advice I may engage in preparations for the work of gaining the Crown."

Mir Jumla arrived at Aurangabad about 1st January, 1658, but was arrested by Aurangzeb soon after for 'reasons of state' and sent as a prisoner to Daulatabad. All his property, the acquisitions of his life-time, were confiscated. His army together with the excellent artillery, manned by Europeans, now passed under Aurangzeb's control. To Aurangzeb, then in great need of

money, these "supplied at that critical moment the much-needed means for his march towards his goal."²⁰

9. Mir Jumla's part in the Episode

The order of recall came as a supreme test of Mir Jumla's diplomacy. For him it revealed the eternal conflict between duty and self-interest. In particular, it meant a clash between loyalty to his master, the Emperor, and loyalty to his ally, the Viceroy. The problem was complicated by the fact that Mir Jumla was the ally of one, whose rival had virtually usurped the authority of the Emperor. It was clear that, at that particular moment, Mir Jumla's obligations to the Emperor, obligations to the Viceroy and family considerations seemed irreconcilable. No doubt, as the ally of Aurangzeb, Mir Jumla could never like the idea of going to the imperial court. But for an imperial officer, which he legally was, staying behind without any cogent reason was impossible. It would be an act of open rebellion. Moreover, it would expose his family, left as hostages in the Court, to Dara's vengeance. The problem before Mir Jumla was how to keep his loyalty untarnished, his honour with his ally bright and yet to save his family.

Indeed it would have been a baffling problem to anyone made of softer stuff than that of Mir Jumla. His shrewd diplomacy helped him to rise to the occasion. On arrival at Aurangabad (about 1st Jan., 1658) he gave out that he was going to Agra in obedience to the imperial mandate. Feigning fear of Aurangzeb's designs, he refused to see him saying, "As I have been ordered by the Emperor to go to him, I have no choice but to obey." Aurangzeb then deputed his son Muhammad Sultan to the Mir with instructions to bring 'that falcon of the sky of wealth and dignity' over to himself anyhow. Aurangzeb sent through the Prince a friendly message to the Mir, to remove his suspicions. He noted that, as he considered him his well-wisher, he should spare a while to attend to some urgent matters before proceeding to Agra and carry an important oral message for the Emperor. The Prince duly delivered the message to the Mir and induced him to visit the Viceroy. Then, as soon as the Mir entered the private apartment (*Khilwatgah*) of Aurangzeb, he was arrested.

According to the official history, '*Alamgirnama*, it was Aurangzeb, who was obliged to detain Mir Jumla for "political reasons," as the latter's intention of going to the court was conducive not to his own interests of getting the throne but to those of the Deccanis. The *Aurangnama*, however, states that Aurangzeb asked the Mir to join him in the projected advance against Dara and then it was the Mir,—apprehensive of the safety of his family in case of his open adhesion to the Viceroy,—who suggested that Aurangzeb should imprison him and confiscate his property, appropriate his entire army and then, together with Murad, advance against Dara. The astute minister observed that by means of such trickery, Aurangzeb's purpose would be easily accomplished and his own family also would be saved. Mir Jumla overbore Aurangzeb's hesitation to imprison a Sayyid, by saying that as he was volunteering, no harm would befall the Viceroy. Thereupon, Aurangzeb imprisoned the Mir. But a secret understanding of this sort between the two could not possibly have been made so late in the day. Indeed, with his inherent power of discernment, Mir Jumla must have anticipated beforehand that his recall was inevitable. His son, as we have seen, had informed him of Dara's manoeuvres. The subsequent correspondence between the Mir and the Viceroy and the mission of the latter's secretary to the former at Bir (December, 1657) suggest clearly that the two conspirators were devising plans to thwart Dara's moves. The report of the mission of Qabil Khan to Mir Jumla is couched in such terms, the issues are left so vague, as to create the suspicion in the mind of the reader that something very secret was settled, and that the cautious secretary did not even consider it safe to put it down on paper but reserved the matter for an oral communication to Aurangzeb. Thus there is no doubt that the imprisonment of Mir Jumla by Aurangzeb was done at the Mir's own advice, and that it was the outcome of a preconcerted plan between the two to secure their respective interests through it, though there may be difference of opinion as regards the time when it was actually engineered.²¹ Dara shrewdly suspected that the two were in league and collusion (*bar sazish o ittifaq*), reported it to the Emperor and even took his sanction to imprison Muhammad Amin Khan Bakhshi, on a false charge of neglect of duty, and

arrested him in Dara's own house. Shahjahan released him after 3 or 4 days knowing him to be innocent.

It would thus appear that Mir Jumla's diplomacy succeeded marvellously well indeed. He managed the whole affair so cleverly that the episode appeared to the Emperor as being due to the injustice and irregularity of Aurangzeb. Shahjahan wrote a letter to Aurangzeb, condemning this unjustified arrest and the unbecoming confiscation of the property of "two innocent Sayyids"—who, having "shown befitting services," had been preparing to comply with the imperial summons to proceed to Delhi, and urged the Viceroy to release them.²²

10. Mir Jumla released by Aurangzeb

But before receiving the imperial remonstrance, Aurangzeb had sent a false explanation to the Emperor that he had imprisoned Mir Jumla because he had "smelt something of defiance from his behaviour" and because otherwise he would have joined the Deccani generals. The explanation even caught hold of popular imagination. An English factor observed (26th January, 1658) that the Nawab was imprisoned "for practising with the king of Golkondah to start a broyle and come in for a share of the crowne."²³

When, after the defeat of Dara,—'all affairs of religion and empire were settled' as the official historian states,—further confinement of Mir Jumla was not necessary, but he could be more usefully employed in the impending war against Shuja' through his release, Aurangzeb set him free from his mock-prison. A formal apology on his part is referred to by Munshi Qabil Khan. "I detained you," Aurangzeb is said to have written, "for some reason The time has come for my apologising to you It is highly imperative that a sincere well-wisher, versed in business like yourself, should remain in my court." In another letter Aurangzeb is said to have expressed : "That I imprisoned you was not due to any disloyalty on your part. Only you showed remissness in exertion and insisted on going back to the Court at an inconvenient time and it was inadvisable to allow you to do so. However much I have tried to make you realise that, I have failed. So I was obliged to detain you, much against

my will. Now, by God's grace my wish has been fulfilled and a new life has come in the garden of kingdom and religion. My enemies have been humiliated. It is inhuman to detain you any longer. I do not want to keep an intelligent man like you unnecessarily without work."²⁴ But this apology is nothing but a clever cloak to hide from others the well-contrived plot of the Mir and Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb sent an order to Muhammad Mu'azzam, releasing Mir Jumla from his mock-prison of Daulatabad and restoring to him all his goods lying at Burhanpur, and granting him one lakh of rupees in cash (from Daulatabad and Burhanpur) to meet the necessary expenses of administration. Muhammad Mu'azzam was further instructed to house Mir Jumla suitably in the Mahakot fort (at the foot of Daulatabad) till the end of the rains.

Informing Mir Jumla of the arrival of his son, Muhammad Amin Khan, on 29th May, 1658, Aurangzeb asked Mir Jumla to remain grateful for the favours conferred on him. Holding out hopes of greater favours on his arrival, Aurangzeb instructed him to be ready to come to the Court and to take another sum of Rs. 50,000 from Mahakot and whatever was possible of his goods. After suitable arrangements regarding his goods had been made by the Prince, Mir Jumla was asked to hasten to Aurangzeb.²⁵

But Mir Jumla, though urgently summoned by Aurangzeb, was personally anxious to proceed to the Karnatak in order to recover his forts and *mahals* from Qutb Shah's hold. Learning of the Mir's intention from his son, Aurangzeb pointed out to the Mir that this could not be carried out unless he remained there for some time, and ordered Qutb Shah to withdraw his men therefrom. Towards the end of October, 1658, Mir Jumla was appointed *Subahdar* of Burhanpur in the rank of 6,000 *Zat* and 6,000 *Suwar* and given the *mahals* of the province of Khandesh as his *jagir*, in place of Wazir Khan, sent to Aurangabad. Mir Jumla was advised to settle duly his personal affairs in the Karnatak and elsewhere, and also those of Burhanpur, to collect together the ships and articles lying scattered, to restore the *dakchauki* from Burhanpur to the Karnatak, to conciliate the local *zamindars* and officers, to organise and improve the army and exercise strict control over all matters.²⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. AN. 83; AS. 5b; *Adab*, 112b. 198b; MU. III. 536; Agra to Surat, 24 Aug. 1657, EFI. X. 118-119.
2. Pending the appointment of a new diwan, Rai-i-Rayan was ordered to officiate and Ruhella Mir i Imarat was appointed Diwan till November, when Jafar Khan was appointed *Wazir-i-Kul*. AS. 6a, b, 7b (Jafar), 10a, b (Dara's reasons); ZNA, 16; AN. 29; MA.-3.
3. *Adab*. 157a, 169a, 92a-b, 92b, 199a-b, 200a-b; *Aurangzib*, I. 253, 311-8; Aurangzeb at Bidar, 9-18 Oct.
4. Aurangzeb's proposals: (i) Parenda, first under Ilhamulla and then under Multafat Khan, tr. from Ahmadnagar; (ii) Ahmadnagar, first under Mirza Sultan, and then under Ilhamulla, tr. from Parenda; (iii) Ellichpur, under Mirza Sultan; (iv) Bir under Nasiri to act under Mir Jumla's advice and not to leave even at imperial summons for protecting it from Shivaji. *Adab*, 150a (Multafat), 157a (Nasiri), 92a-b, 199a-b (Ilhamulla; Shivaji).
5. *Ibid*, 197a-b, 202b-203a. (letter of Shaikh Bahar of Urganj (?) re: Bijapuris). Naldrug is 27 miles n.e. of Sholapur. Altund 76° 40' E, 17° 34' N. (ASI. Sh.33.) Popularly known as Aladi, it is 22m.n.w. of Gulbarga. For a view of Naldrug fort, ASR. XIV Pl. X; ARADND. 1917-18 (Pl).
6. *Adab*, 201a-202a (dependence re: throne); 197a, 197a-198a, 198b, 199a, 199a-200a; *Aurangzib* I. 318-9.
7. *Adab*, 198a-b, 190a (death of Dilras); 20Ca-b; 202b-203a (useless to Jinger). AS. 6b-7a (Bidar under Mir Jafar Bakhshi).
Pathri, about 120 miles north of Bidar, is at the junction of the roads leading to Aurangbad and Delhi via Burhanpur.
8. *Ibid*, 200b-201a (Mir to withdraw), 200a-b (copy of Court agent's letter, sent by Aurangzeb); 201a-202a (Mir's property to be guarded by Muhammad Tahir; his elephants and goods at Bir to be removed to Burhanpur by Sayyid Mir Malik Husain Koka).
9. *Ibid*, 92a-b, 197b-198a, 198a-b, 198b-199a, 199a-b.
10. Aurangzeb agreeable to go to Parenda if Court news was encouraging. *Ibid*, 201a-202b; 202b-203a; 203a-204a (Md. Sultan). Official changes in *Aurangzib* i. 283-5.
11. *Ibid*. 92b; AN. 83. Letter of Qazi to be sent to the Emperor and Mir Jumla to inform the latter of the Deccan situation.
- 11a. Murad's murder of Ali Naqi (early in October), his plunder of Surat (early in November), his professed steadfastness to the agreement made with Aurangzeb, the establishment of a *dakchauki* between Ahmadabad and Aurangabad, the lack of any "possibility of a junction between the 'strong enemy' (Dara) with the lords of Bengal and Gujrat." *Adab*. 201a-202a.
12. *Adab*, 92b-93a (Court Agent's cypher letter to Mir Jumla), 201a: 202a (Mir Malik Husain Koka to watch from Handi ferry crossings to Parenda;

letters to Deogarh and Chanda Zamindars), 204a-205a (Murad's men captured c. end of Nov. 1657, Bijapuri indemnity of 40,000 Ibrahimis. Md. Sharif asked to bring Bijapuri *gomastas* to Aurangzeb.), 205a-206a, 202b-203a (Bengal courier coming via Haidarabad to Aurangzeb).

13. cf...the following: "By advice of that Politician Emir Jemla, he dissemblingly Submits to his brother Morat Backe..." (Bowrey, 137). There is a brief reference to this in the *Poem*. 16.

14. Aurangzeb wanted the Mir to bind the Bijapuris by a treaty (*ahd*) so that they would not create trouble in the imperial territories. The latter was advised to 'settle the matter somehow without delay... there is no time to be lost... For the present no better alternative exists... Try to implement the advice given, it is the right one... Come within a few days after disposing of the affair there...'

Adab, 202a-b, 200b-201a; Aurangzeb's concessions to Adil Shah 162b-163a.

15. *Ibid*, 202a-b, 201a-202b, 202b-203a (Ikhlas Kh.); *Aurangzib*, i. 263.

Mir Jumla probably suggested to Aurangzeb the necessity of winning over the nobles and peasants of the Deccan. Aurangzeb also made efforts for this (Nov., 1657) but these were not very successful.

16. Aurangzeb wrote: "I do not know the Mulla better than you. Undoubtedly the suggestion of Khan Muhammad's murder came from him and in spite of my warnings, he lived carelessly and did not care to keep off his enemy ... Better send a suitable reply to ... the Mulla by keeping an eye to old friendship, which will reveal the gravity of his deed than to remain silent altogether ..." *Adab*. 92b-93a; 204a-205a (Qabil Kh. to Mir. 21 Nov., 1657) *Aurangzib*, I. 263-4.

As a 'sincere friend' of the Mir, Qabil Khan advised great caution in dealing with *Qudwat ul Nawaib* (The Prince among Naibs or deputies), Mulla Ahmad. Details about him and his 'cunning and deceit' were not unknown to Aurangzeb. But as the Mulla wanted 'to strengthen his sovereign authority' with the Mir's help, the latter might 'have him for the purpose in mind', for the sake of imperial interests, provided he was satisfied with his 'honesty and integrity'. 'The black blood will not sleep (i.e. retribution will surely come) if the murder has been unjustly done. Perhaps the affairs there will thus be concluded according to the exigencies of time; and the (imperial) army will rest for sometime, you know these things better than others and know best "the subtleties of experience (*Kardani*, sagacity)"

17. *Adab*, 92b-93a, 93a-b (spoilt affair): 93b-94a (Bir), 94a (Aurangzeb's anxieties); *Aurangzib* I. 328, 329-30.

18. *Adab*, 94a-b, See *infra* sub-section 8.

19. *Adab*, 203a-204a (Dara); Dara's reasons for recall in AS. 10b; ZNA. 18-19; *Aurangzib* I. 326.

20. AS. 10a-b; ZNA. 18-20; *Poem*, 15-17; AN. 83-4; 190; MU. iii. 537-8; GD (Sultan Muhammad to Qutb); *Adab*, 205b; *Aurangzib* I. 332. Mir Ahmad, Aurangzeb's hajib, sent a wakil to confiscate Mir Jumla's goods stored at Masulipatam. Its *havaladar* Fathulla Beg was ordered to

prepare an inventory of his goods and send it to Aurangzeb's Court. Tabrezi, 35a.

Aurangzeb also imprisoned his father-in-law, Shah Nawaz Kh. and confiscated his property for refusing to obey him as a warning to others.

21. ZNA. 19-20; AS. 10b; *Adab*, 168b (Qabil's interview with the Mir); *Poem*, 15-17; AN. 84; MU. III. 537-8; GD (Md. Sultan to Qutb Shah); *Aurangzib* I. 333. According to Manucci (*Storia* I.249-50), during the interview Aurangzeb showed exuberance of affection towards the Mir, calling him 'father' and asked him to espouse his cause against Dara, whereupon Mir Jumla was highly incensed and publicly reprehended the Viceroy, so that his loyalty might be reported by spies to the Emperor and Dara. Manucci also states that the Viceroy sent Md. Sultan and Muazzam at Parendā to persuade the Mir to visit him with forged letters of Shahjahan. This is not supported by Persian chronicles. Both the princes had, of course, gone to Parendā.

22. AN. 84 (Dara imprisons Muhammad Amin); AS. 10b; MU. III 538.

23. ZNA. 20; AN. 84 (arrested for political reasons), *Adab*, 95a; EFl. X. 263n. 'Mir Jumla whose friendship I gave up for some *maslihat* (expediency) and error of diligence ... will be released in just appreciation of merit (*qadardani*). *Adab*, 67a-b, cf. GD (JBORS 287-88). MM 92b-94; copy of a *farman* (Sic) of Shahzada Aurangzeb to Abdullah, written when there was disorder in the kingdom and change in Shahjahan's condition. (1069/1658).

24. *Adab*, 95b, 95a-b. Khafi Khan (ii.9) writes: "Aurangzeb imprisoned Mir Jumla at Daulatabad as a stroke of policy to prevent his ill-repute" Kambu writes (10b): 'Muazzam Khan, the best of officers and the head of this affair, through some evil manner, which was inconsistent with wise conduct and knowledge, wanted, without permission of Aurangzeb, to go to the Emperor.'

25. *Adab*, 95a-b, 95b, 235a;

26. AN. 218-19: *Adab*, 95b-96a; 235a; MU. III. 538-9.

SECTION E

Mir Jumla's Relations with the Europeans (C. 1656-'58)¹

1. Effect of Mir Jumla's appointment as Wazir

With the appointment of Mir Jumla in Mughal imperial service, followed by the bestowal of the Karnatak as a personal *jagir* on him, a definite change came over his relations with the English. So long he had utilised the English East India Company as an instrument for realising his commercial and political ambitions and usually maintained with them, outwardly at least, an attitude of friendship. But now any further wooing of the Company became unnecessary on his part. At the same time, however, his departure from the Deccan, a scene of unstable political equilibrium, his territorial and economic interests being left under the charge of his lieutenants, the reduction of his armed forces there, and the uncertainty of his coming back to or of his exercising effective control over the Karnatak, generated certain factors which aggravated the friction between Mir Jumla (and his representatives) and the English factors in Madras, and probably emboldened the latter to carry on their private trade in a greater degree than before.²

2. Alleged complaints of oppression on the Fort St. George factors by Mir Jumla's officers

To a large extent, this friction was due to the complaints of

oppression on Fort St. George factors and of hindrances to their trade alleged to have been caused by the Mir's governors since the time of Sayyid Ibrahim. Matters became unbearable in the time of Bala Rau, governor of Poonamallee.

Mir Jumla is represented in the English factory records to have threatened to deprive the English of the fort and government of Madras, and to have agreed to the suggestion of Bala Rau that the latter "might sell the corn that grew in his Dominions in Madras and that the government thereof might be under him". When Agent Greenhill objected to the junction of Poonamallee and Madras, Bala Rau left Madras, keeping one of his agents there with instructions "to breed distractions both in the government of the town and in the Company's affairs." He also made repeated allegations against the English to Mir Jumla to fan his wrath against them, and also interfered with the normal business activities of the Company in several ways. Thus Bala Rau sought to utilise his office at Poonamallee to control production and distribution in Madras, "surrounding and feeding" the English "from hand to mouth", so as to compel them to bow to his will.³

3. Retaliation of the English Factors

The complaints of the English factors to Mir Jumla and to Mir Sayyid 'Ali, the newly appointed governor of the former's Karnatak dominions, made in the hope of securing an early and effective redress went in vain, and Bala Rau was emboldened to "insult the English all the more"; he seized the entire paddy purchased by the English agents even from outside Mir Jumla's jurisdiction, and also stopped at Terrawalawashe (? Tiruvana-vasi) the consignment of bell-metal (*ganza* from Pegu), transported with Mir Jumla's sanction to Warangal, causing great loss to the English.⁴ The gravity of the losses and troubles suffered by the Fort St. George factors led their Agent Greenhill to think of retaliation. It took the shape of the seizure of the Nawab's Red Sea (Mocha) junk, a large country vessel, and the capture of 4 pieces of ordnance from it (August, 1656). The opportunity for all this came with the Hindu revolt in the Karnatak.⁵

The seizure of the Mir's junk was undoubtedly a challenge to his authority and proved to be a source of infinite troubles to the English, first in the East Coast and subsequently both there and in Bengal. They had resorted to that "unwarrantable" procedure, believing that, on their capture of the vessel and its contents, Mir Jumla would come to a satisfactory agreement with them. But they were disillusioned. Mir Jumla was made of too strong a stuff to come down to such a humiliating compromise. Though he was then preoccupied with his own affairs and his governors were very much distracted due to the Hindu revolt, he knew how to bide his time. As a matter of fact, the subsequent sieges of Madras by his troops formed in a sense strong measures of reprisal against this opportunist policy of the Company's factors at Madras.⁶

4. Counter measures of Mir Jumla's Governors

Being unable to persuade the English by peaceful negotiations to surrender the junk, Mir Sayyid 'Ali gave orders for the siege of Madras. Bala Rau at first resorted to an economic blockade of Madras by wholly stopping the import of provisions there and enforcing it by placing guards round the place.⁷ This was followed by the siege of the town by Mir Jumla's forces under Lingum Nayak (18th Dec. 1656), to capture some leaders of the Hindu revolt (Koneri Chetti and Vengum Raja), sheltering in Madras. It was attended with burning of houses, plunder and seizure of cloths and goods of the Company and the flight of the injured Hindu inhabitants from the Company's settlement in Madras. The departure of Mir Jumla's army was not followed by immediate restoration of normal business activities there, and trade dislocation continued to the next year.⁸

5. Attitude of the Dutch and the English

If the English at Fort St. George suffered from Mir Jumla's forces, the Dutch at Pulicat, in spite of their strong fortifications, had to bear the brunt of a siege conducted by the forces of the Raja of Chandragiri. As a matter of fact, despite the temporary estrangement of Mir Jumla from the Dutch 1650-'55, the

latter were inclined to espouse his cause in case of a Hindu attack on Pulicat. On the other hand, Mir Jumla was definitely alienated from the English about the middle of 1655.⁹ They had "much more reason to rejoice than complain" at the Hindu revolt in the Karnatak and had full sympathy and possibly some support for the Hindu Raja, anxious to recover a portion of his dispossessed territories. But though favourable towards their late benefactor, the Raja of Chandragiri, the English did not want to give any offence to their new master, Mir Jumla, by openly defying his authority, if it could be avoided.¹⁰

After a fortnight's negotiations between Mir Jumla's men and the English, it was agreed that the English should restore all the detained goods of Mir Jumla, evidently including the junk, and enjoy their privileges as before. Still, as a measure of precaution the Agent and Council at Fort St. George, re-inforced the "slender British garrison" by enrolling Eurasian and native soldiers, formed a hired civic militia for use in case of an emergency and made a pathetic appeal to the Company for strengthening the defences of Madras.¹¹

6. Fresh troubles in 1657 after Mir Jumla's dismissal from the Wizarat

Fresh troubles for the English arose in 1657, especially after Mir Jumla had been hurled from the Wizarat. He attacked the town of Madras on the ground that the English had assisted the Raja of Chandragiri in his "War against the Mogul" and had been hostile. The second siege or blockade of Madras (Sept. 1657-April 1658) was conducted by the Mir's general, Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak and his Governor, Bala Rau, under orders of Mir Sayyid 'Ali.¹² On the refusal of the English to grant passports to Mir Jumla's sea-going junks, his forces stiffened the siege. But without artillery, which had been appropriated by Aurangzeb early in January, 1658, they could not seriously damage the defences of Fort St. George. Moreover, as food supplies could be easily brought by sea, the blockade became ineffective. Various considerations forced Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak and Aiyappa (Japa) Nayak to order Bala Rau to raise the siege (19th April) and to suspend

hostilities till the arrival of Mir Jumla. According to an important agreement of April, 1658, between Tupaki Krishnappa and Agent Greenhill, Mir Jumla gave up his "interest" in the revenues and customs of Madras on payment of a consolidated annual rent of 380 pagodas by the English, and the latter were left in undisturbed control of the Fort and the town. This was followed by the occupation of Pulicat by an army under Chin-natambi Mudaliyar sent by Mir Jumla's general, Tupakki Krishnappa Nayak. Both the Dutch and the English lent Mir Jumla's men large sums of money, the former 10,000 *pagodas*, and the latter 2,000, besides sending cloth worth 1,000 *pagodas*.¹³ The Portuguese settlement of San Thome was also sacked by Mir Jumla's forces.¹⁴

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Further details have been given in my articles on *Mir Jumla and the English* (1655-58), in JBORS. Dec. 1940 pp. 323-40, and March, 1941.
2. *Ibid.* XXVI. 325-6. The English factors at Agra endeavoured to gauge his attitude towards the E. I. C. On 27th June, 1656, Jesson, one of the local factors, saw him with presents worth Rs. 150. Mir Jumla promised to do for the Company whatever was possible for him. But, being informed by Hafiz Nasar, Governor of Surat, the Mir did not consider the claims of the English regarding insurance to be justified. EFI. X. 68-69, 69-71.
3. This account is based on (1) *the Chamber's Narrative*, Love I. 189; EFI. X. 41-2 (2) Letter of Greenhill and Chamber, Nov. 10, 1656. Love I. 165-66; EFI. X. 93; see JBORS. XXVI. 340; XXVII. 96-98 for details.
4. Love I. 189-90; EFI. 41-2.
5. Love, *op cit.* 184-5, 165-7 and n, 190; EFI. X. 92-4, 288.
6. EFI. X. 184; Love I. 185.
7. EFI. X. 95-97; Love. I. 190.
8. EFI. X. 97-99; Love. I. 167, 168, 190-1.
9. EFI. X. 37-38; Love. I. 160.
10. See JBORS, *op cit.* Dutch refusal to procure for Rayal Mir Jumla's riches stored at Pulicat and pledge to hold Mir Jumla in siege (Dutch records in EFI. X. 99); English assistance to Hindu general, Koneri Chetti and eagerness to see Rayal recover his territories (EFI. X. 94, 98, 97, Love. I. 167); Greenhill requested Koneri to release Mir Jumla's Governor Bala Rau and housed the latter (Love I. 190; EFI. X. 95); The English

wanted to retain the factory at Viravasaram (under the Rayal) as a place of refuge, if their position became unbearable at Masulipatam (under Mir Jumla), EFI. X. 39-40; Greenhill to continue as President of Fort St. George in view of growing differences with Mir Jumla, EFI. X. 37-38; Love I. 160.

11. . EFI. X. 96, 98, 104, 174; Love, I. 167, 169 (Dutch records).

12. The exact relationship between Bala Rau and Mir Sayyid Ali is not clearly ascertainable from English factory records.

13. Love I. 191-2, 168-9; EFI. X. 135, 136, 137, 173-4, 176; JBORS. *op. cit.*

The annual rent of Madras remained fixed at 380 pagodas till 1672, when it was raised to 1,200 pagodas. This was finally remitted by Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic,

Aiyappa Nayak was brother of Damarla Venkatappa from whom the original grant for Fort St. George was secured. EFI. X. 175n.

14. Love. I. 174 and n.

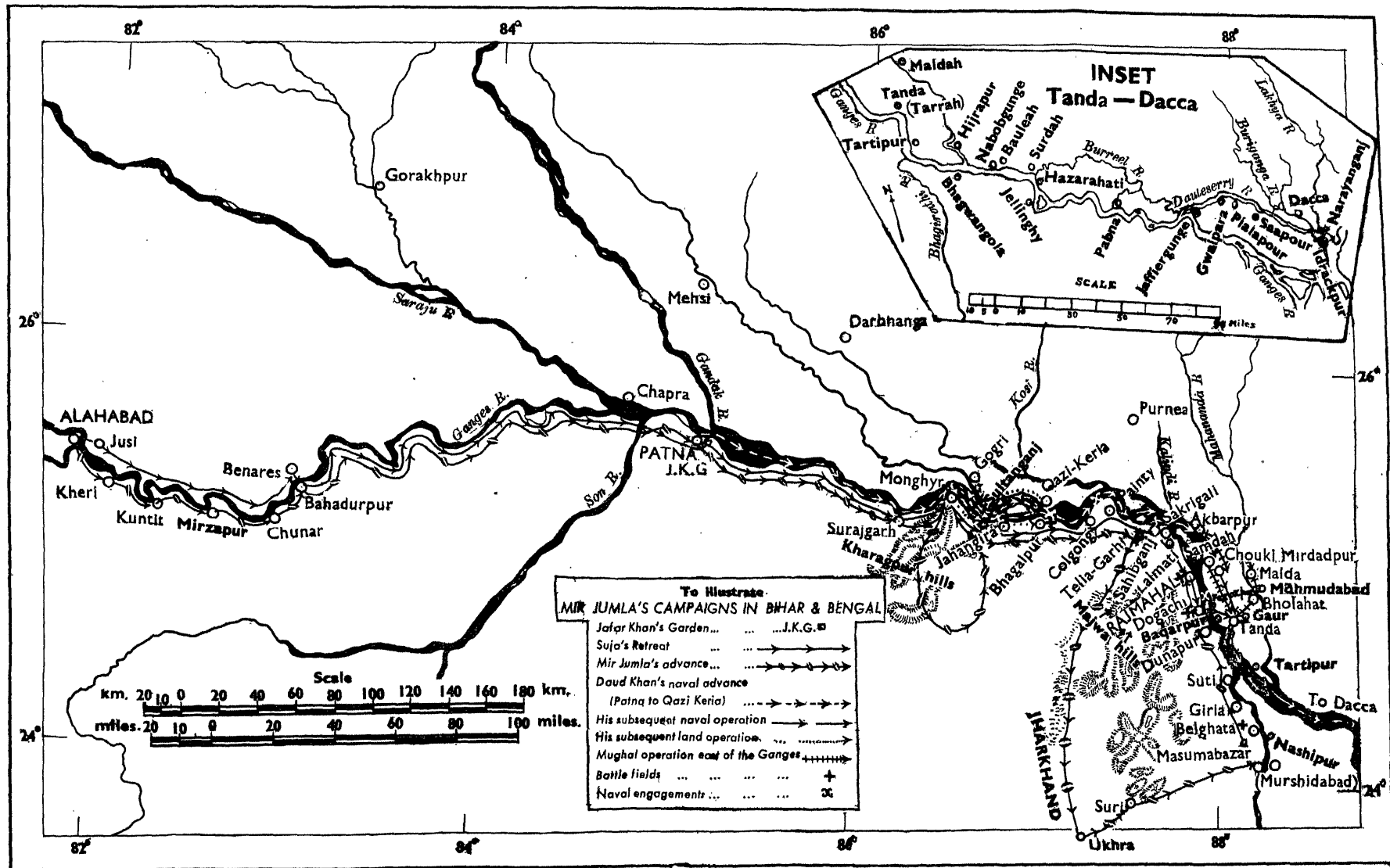
The War of Succession

SECTION A

THE BATTLE OF KHAJWA

1. Mir Jumla meets Aurangzeb at Kora

While Mir Jumla was endeavouring to regulate the affairs of Khandesh and the Karanatak, Aurangzeb was wholly preoccupied with his struggle against Dara. But at the end of September, 1658, Aurangzeb entrusting the pursuit of Dara to his generals, had to return from the Punjab to the capital to oppose the advance of Shuja. The Emperor summoned Mir Jumla to come to him immediately, leaving Khandesh under some trustworthy person, to guide and counsel him in his war with the lord of Bengal and bring it to a successful close. Towards the end of November, Aurangzeb sent a strong force under Sultan Muhammad from Agra towards Allahabad to bar Shuja's path. Advising the Prince not to hasten an engagement but to wait till the arrival of his own wazir and himself, the Emperor himself started (21st December) with a large force unencumbered with heavy war-materials and superfluous animals and joined the Prince and the imperial army of Kora-Gautampur, eight miles west of Khajwa on 2nd January, 1659. Shuja had reached the little village of Khajwa (30th December) and occupied a large



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artificial lake in the midst of a great plain. But finding his path blocked by the Prince, he had remained entrenched there with his efficient and well-organised artillery, largely manned by Europeans. Mir Jumla, too, advancing from Khandesh by forced marches, arrived at Kora with a small army, "two days before the battle," i.e. on 3rd January.¹

2. Mir Jumla at Khajwa

On the arrival of Mir Jumla, preparations on the imperial side were speeded up. On 3rd January, Aurangzeb, probably acting on Mir Jumla's advice, arranged his battle order, and allocated to each division its respective position. Next day, after exchanging an ineffectual fire with the imperialists, the Shujaite artillery retired in the evening from its position on an elevated ground to the army base. Mir Jumla, with the instinct of "a born general", immediately captured the deserted place so as to command Shuja's camp. Then, drawing up 40 guns to it after hard toil, he kept them ready for action against the enemy on the next morning. Ordered by the Emperor, every general kept his army in a state of preparedness. During the early part of the night Mir Jumla went round the camp to superintend the entrenchments and urged the guards to be vigilant.²

During Jaswant Singh's treacherous attack on Aurangzeb's camp towards the close of the night of 4th January, it was Mir Jumla, if we believe Manucci, who "counselled Aurangzeb to reanimate his men, and advised him to write an intriguing letter to Alawardi Khan, Chief Adviser of Shuja, promising to reward him in return for inducing his master to dismount from his elephant during the battle. No contemporary Persian source corroborates this account. But Bhimsen states that Mir Jumla managed to pump out of Jaswant his plans in an interview with him and communicated them to the Emperor. In any case Mir Jumla minimised the gravity of the danger arising from Jaswant's treachery."³

The battle order of the previous day was retained by Aurangzeb, except that Islam Khan replaced Jaswant as the commander of the right wing and that Saif Khan was put in independent charge of its front section. Nevertheless, Aurangzeb

empowered Mir Jumla to introduce whatever changes he thought necessary according to the exigencies of war.⁴

The battle of Khajwa (5th January) was pre-eminently an artillery duel, in which cannon, rockets, muskets and hand-grenades were freely exchanged on both sides. On the day of battle Mir Jumla was seated on an elephant just behind the Emperor's, ready to advise him in decisive moments. When Sayyid 'Alam of Shuja's Right, driving three infuriated elephants, routed the Imperial Left wing and the panic-stricken army, fled away, "even veterans of the Deccan wars" and old imperial servants followed suit. The enemy attacked the Emperor at the centre, guarded by 2,000 troopers only. "It was the critical moment of the battle." The flight of the Emperor then would have meant the bewildering retreat of the entire army. But he stood firm as a rock, cool and undaunted, taking care to chain the legs of his elephant so that it might not run away. In this way he saved the situation. Then the Emperor veered round to relieve his hard-pressed Right, but only after taking due precaution not to create an impression of a *volte face* to his army. This was followed by a simultaneous advance of the Right, Centre and Left divisions of the imperial army, which enveloped Shuja's centre.. Shuja was already decisively defeated when he took horse leaving the dangerous prominence of his elephant.⁵

The Court annalist attributes the Emperors' victory to divine grace, as Shuja's offensive had, on several occasions, exposed the former to imminent danger of rout. In the highly contested battle of Khwaja, Aurangzeb's advantage, due to his numerical superiority over Shuja' (by 2 to 1) was further augmented by treachery in the latter's ranks. The desertion of the Shujaite officers, Murad Kam Safavi (Mukarram Khan) and 'Abdur Rahman Sultan (son of Nazar Muhammad Khan, ex-king of Balkh) is described by Kambu as "a surprising event", which placed the victory in Aurangzeb's hands, because under their guidance Aurangzeb re-attacked Shuja's army. Neither the official historian nor the Emperor's equerry makes adequate reference to the Mir's activities for fear of minimising the former's glory. But a dispassionate and critical study of the Persian chronicles together with the account of Manucci and English factory correspondence suggests that Mir Jumla made creditable contri-

butions towards turning the scales against Shuja. Being in constant attendance on the Emperor during the battle, as his right-hand man, he offered him timely advice regarding the tactical moves and instilled hope and courage into his mind during critical moments. But the supreme contribution of Mir Jumla well-known for his artillery, must be found in the use by the imperialists 'of certain kinds of fireworks made of bamboos' reported to be deadlier than grenades. The Balasore factors diagnosed the chief cause of the defeat Shuja who lost nearly 12,000 men to be this 'stratagem of war' in which he was deficient. This is corroborated by Kambu's reference to hand-grenaders (*hukkadaran*) dashing like wind.⁸

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. AN. 242; *Adab*, 236a, 237a; MA. 12; TS. 96a-99b (Shuja), 101a, b; 112a; *Poem*, 122-125; ZNA. 73-75; AS. 19b; MU. III. 538-9; *Storia*. I. 327, 329; EFL. X. 168.

The date of Mir Jumla's arrival is stated to be 4th January in *Poem* 124-5, ZNA. 76, *Storia* I. 329; and 2nd January (the same day as Aurangzeb) in MA. 12 and *Adab* 237a. But according to the '*Alamgirnama* (242), confirmed by Masum (112a) Mir Jumla came "two days before battle" i.e. 3rd January.

Khajwa (26° 3' N, 80° 35' E) is in Fatehpur dt.

2. AN. 248, 252; *Storia*, I. 328b; *Adab*, 239; *Aurangzib*, II. 479, 480-1; Aurangzeb's preparations, MA. 12-13, AS. 19b, TS. 101b-102, *Poem* 128; EFL. X. 168.

3. Jaswant in collusion with Shuja, AN. 253-6. AS. 19b, MA. 13-14, ZNA 75-77, TS. 106a-111b; *Storia*, I. 328-30 (Slaughter and plunder of Hindus); ND. 14b-15b.

For Alawardi, AN. 421, 422, 499-501, TS. 114a, 115a, MA. 26, MU. i. 207, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* 1069 A.H., Bernier, 77.

4. *Aurangzib*, II. 485.

5. For battle of Khajwa, AN. 257-65; TS. 102b-105b; AS. 19b-20b; ZNA. 75-84; *Poem*, 128-33 (Bakhtan Beg commander of right wing of imperial artillery and his son killed); MA. 14; *Aurangzib* II. 486-95; RA. (Tr. by J.H. Bilimoria), letter No. XCI. pp. 87-9; Balasore letter, March 2, 1659, EFL. X. 279 and; n; Manucci (*Storia* I. 332) says that when the

driver of the Emperor's elephant was killed, and he was about to get down from it, Mir Jumla, "doing his duty as a good leader (and from him nothing else could be expected)," loudly shouted out 'Qaim, Qaim' (Stand fast, Stand fast). At this Aurangzeb stopped on the elephant and endured the severe assault.

6. AS. 19b-20a (*hukkaduran*), 20b (Verse); ZNA. 79; Balasore Letters. March 2 and Dec. 15, 1659; EFI. X. 279 and n, 280.

SECTION B

The War in Bihar

1. Mir Jumla starts in pursuit of Shuja

After his defeat at Khajwa on 5th January, Shuja fled away towards Bihar in desperate haste and deep depression, with "neither the feet on the saddle, nor courage in his heart." But despatching Prince Muhammad in his pursuit that very afternoon so as not to give him any rallying time, Aurangzeb stayed on at Khajwa for a week longer.

Mir Jumla, too, remained with the Emperor. On 11th January the Emperor rewarded him for his services, by elevating him to the rank of the commander of 7,000 (*haft hazari haft hazar suwar*), and by giving him some choicest presents.¹ Next day the Mir accompanied the Emperor on his return march from Khajwa to the bank of the Ganges. Before his departure for the capital on 14th January, the Emperor deputed the Mir to undertake the pursuit of his fugitive brother and the conquest of Bihar and Bengal from his hands and asked him to become the *atalik* (guide) of his son. Indeed, though in theory they were sent as joint commanders in accordance with the usual Mughal military custom, Mir Jumla was made the "real commander and vested with the supreme power of control, dismissal and appointment".² Mir Jumla undertook to accomplish the task in profound submission, stating that he would "snatch away the ring and the crown from the enemy...and drive him to the sea-shore."³

Sometime after 14th January, Mir Jumla proceeded to reinforce Muhammad Sultan and the imperial force swelled to 30,000. The *'Alamgirnama* mentions 27 generals who accompanied Mir Jumla: (1) Zulfiqar Khan (Tabrezi), (2) Islam Khan (Badakhshi), (3) Kunwar Ram Singh (4) Daud Khan (Qureishi), (5) Fidai Khan (Bakharzai), (6) Raja Indradyumna Dhamdhera, (7) Rao Bhao Singh Hada (son of Rao Chattarsal), (8) Ihtisham Khan, (9) Fateh Jang Khan (Ruhela), (10) Rao Amar Singh Chandrawat, (11) Ikhlas Khan Khweshgi, (12) Khawas Khan, (13) Ekkataz Khan (original name 'Abdullah), (14) Rashid Khan (Ansari), (15) Lodi Khan, (16) Sayyid Firoz Khan Barha, (17) Sayyid Sher Khan Barha, (18) Sayyid Muzaffar Khan Barha (Khan-i-Jahan), (19) Zabardast Khan (Ruhela), (20) Ali Quli Khan, (21) Qizilbash Khan, (22) Iskandar Ruhela, (23) Kakar Khan, (24) Dilawar Khan, (25) Neknam Khan, (26) Niazi Khan, (27) Qadirdad Ansari and others. The Emperor instructed Mir Jumla to take along with him the brave Rozbihani soldiers,—Rasul, Muhammad and Chiragh; every one of them was experienced, fast runner and unflinching in devotion. Ahmad and Muhammad Murad were brave and skilled skirmishers.³

2. Khajwa-Patna

Riding away 30 miles from Khajwa in four days, the fugitive Prince crossed the Ganges at Allahabad, and encamped at Jhusi, opposite it. At the news of the approach of the imperialists, Sayyid Kasim, entitled Tahawwur Khan, a Barha Sayyid, originally Dara's commandant at Allahabad, who had joined Shuja during the latter's march towards the capital, opportunely made an agreement with Aurangzeb's general, Bahadur Khan, and surrendered the fort to Khan-i-Dauran (12th January). On reaching Bahadurpur, on the bank of the Ganges, 5 miles east of Benares, Shuja repaired the walls and the entrenchments round his former camp at Benares, mounted on the ramparts 7 guns brought from Chunar and planned to bring cannon from other forts. He intended to make a stand here against his pursuers, but in case of failure, he planned to sail down on his flotilla, lying moored at hand.

Meanwhile Mir Jumla, without making any delay on the way, had joined Muhammad Sultan at Allahabad. The Prince heard of Shuja's high entrenchments at Benares, mounted with 7 guns from Chunar, but could not cross the flooded Ganges near Bahadurpur for want of boats. The Mir advised the Prince to advance by way of Chunar. Hence, marching back upstream, Muhammad Sultan forded the river near Allahabad, and, proceeding *via* Kheri and Kuntit, reached Chunar on the 4th day. At the same time Fidai Khan, governor of Awadh, was marching from Gorakhpur towards Patna along the northern bank of the Ganges, according to the imperial mandate. Highly alarmed at the prospect of being engulfed by this 'pincer movement' of the imperialists, Shuja precipitately withdrew from Bahadurpur towards Patna; but, without entering the town, he halted at Jafar Khan's garden (10th Feb. 1659). The Prince inspected the deserted entrenchments at Benares, halted there for two days and then started for Patna under Mir Jumla's guidance.⁴

3. Patna-Monghyr

While Shuja had been wasting several precious days in the eastern environs of Patna over his son's marriage, Mir Jumla speedily arrived within 20 miles west of Patna. Feeling insecure in the 'great open plains' of that area, and not considering it to be a suitable place to resist the imperialists there owing to the absence of fortified defences, Shuja moved further eastwards and on 19th February reached Monghyr, and decided to make a resolute stand there against his enemy (19th February—6th March). He strengthened the fortifications on the approaches to the town, repaired the old wall there running between the Ganges and the foot of its southern hills, and supported his high entrenchments by a very powerful artillery and formidable war implements, like cannon, camel-swivels, elephant-swivels, guns and rockets. Stationing small pickets of Europeans at strategic corners, Shuja entrusted the defence of the skirt of the hills (*damini-koh*) to Raja Bahroz of Kharagpur.

The imperialists reached Patna about 22nd February, 8 days after Shuja's departure therefrom, and were joined by Fidai

Khan. After eight days' halt during which Mir Jumla appointed Daud Khan Governor of Bihar, the imperial army started for Monghyr and learnt of the enemy's strong defence there at Jake-poorah.⁵ Finding the road to Monghyr well-blocked (early March), the Prince took counsel of Mir Jumla, regarding the plan of advance. Mir Jumla at once recognised the utter futility of any attempt to storm Shuja's defences there and decided to cut Shuja's communications in the rear. Winning over Raja Bahroz by means of a letter of "hope and fear" and by the power of gold, Mir Jumla made a detour through the difficult route to Rajmahal running through the Kharagpur hills, then known as the 'Bar Jangal' i.e., extensive or terrifying woods, abounding with ferocious beasts and inhabited by the hillmen. Thus Mir Jumla gained his end by strategy rather than by huge waste of men and material. Along with Zulfiqar Khan, he cut his way through with the help of thousands of woodcutters. Then, emerging out of the woods after a week and going up, he reached the plains east of Monghyr, followed by the Prince.⁶

4. Monghyr-Garhi

Finding himself betrayed by his trusted *zamindar* and out-flanked at this unexpected strategy of the imperialists, Shuja fled from Monghyr, in a state of alarm (6th March) to a place beyond Teliagarhi, mentioned in the '*Alamgirnama* as Ranganamati.⁷ Here he halted for 15 days (10th-24th March) in guarding the river route by a *nawwara*, and fortifying Garhi, i.e., Teliagarhi. He asked Khwaja Kamal Afghan, the *zamindar* of Birbhum and Chatnagar to oppose another detour of Mir Jumla through the hills stretching from the Ganges to Birbhum.

Mir Jumla heard of Shuja's retreat from Monghyr at Pialapur,⁸ 40 miles east of it. Leaving Muhammad Sultan together with a part of the army there for occupation of those parts, Mir Jumla himself advanced to Monghyr, took possession of it (9th March) and arranged for its administration by appointing Muhammad Hossain Salduz temporary commandant of the fort till the arrival of an imperial officer. On return, he learnt the news of Shuja's entrenchments at Garhi and picking up Muhammad Sultan's force at Pialapur, marched at the head of the

entire imperial army towards Rajmahal in order to cut off Shuja's retreat.

Shuja's entrenchments stretched from the Ganges to the southern hills and they were strongly defended with artillery, while the river route was guarded by a *nawwara*. These defences must have included both the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali, then regarded as the key to Bengal.

On hearing of Shuja's strong defences at Garhi, Muhammad Sultan enquired of Mir Jumla whether he would launch a direct assault on Garhi and force the defiles. Mir Jumla is said to have replied satirically: "It is not unfit for you, as you have no parallel in bravery and are a descendant of Timur to do so, but it would involve a huge loss of men and such a war should never be conducted. Why should you allow men to be slain in a task, which can be accomplished by strategy? Tasks there are, which can be performed not by war but by wisdom and policy (*tabdir*)."⁹

5. Mir Jumla's turning movement near Garhi

As before Monghyr, so now too, Mir Jumla "resolved to add policy to strength." Once again did he adopt the same turning movement against Shuja and with the same decisive results. Once again gold of the imperialists disturbed Shuja's plans. To catch up his rear and bar his escape, Mir Jumla won over the *zamindar* of Birbhum with the same ease as the Raja of Kharagpur, and "purchased a safe passage" through the former's lands. The way lay through hills south-east of the Monghyr district, infested with carnivorous animals, interspersed with marshes and swamps, devoid of fruit-yielding trees, and of any other article of food except rice and water. Satisfied with these two articles, Mir Jumla advanced towards Jharkhand, with Raja Bahroz as his guide who supplied to the imperialists, materials and corn, collected by his own men.

The general plan of advance was as follows:—

Wood-cutters and *beldars* (hatchetmen, diggers, delvers and pioneers), assisted by an elephant corps and numerous swift led horses, felled the trees and constructed a road, which was demarcated by two flags on either side under the supervision of

Mir Jumla and Zulfiqar. The army advanced during day time over the newly constructed road and halted at night. The route *via* Jharkhand was of several stages with narrow mountain passes, difficult of journey, undulating and lacking in any trace of vegetation. Though the march was toilsome, that vast army moved in as perfect order as possible, thanks to the discipline of the Mir,—in right, left, front and rear: Zulfiqar with Van (2000); Islam Khan with right wing (5000); Fidai Khan with left wing (5000); Mir Jumla, together with Kunwar Ram Singh, Ikhlas Khan Khweshgi and Rao Bhao Singh Hada, Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, accompanied the Prince, with 15 horsemen in front; Daud Khan formed the left reserve (2000); and Rashid Khan the right reserve (2000). Crossing the jungle in 12 days the party reached the plains of Birbhum, Ukhla (Ukhra) in the *zamindari* of Khwaja Kamal, and passed along Suri, the chief town, on 28th March¹⁰.

6. The Rajputs desert Mir Jumla

Mir Jumla could overcome the impediments presented by nature, but he could not prevent those created by the credulity and cowardice of selfish men. At the end of March the Rajput generals like Kunwar Ram Singh (son of Mirza Raja) Rao Bhao Singh (son of Raja Chattarsal Hada), Amar Singh, Chaturbhuj Chauhan, and others deserted Mir Jumla and proceeded towards Agra by way of Jharkhand. The reasons of this unexpected development, which reduced the numerical strength of Mir Jumla's army, are stated differently by different authors. The Shujaite historian Masum ascribes it to Mir Jumla's refusal to meet the demands for expenses made by the Rajputs. The Mir is said to have replied: "You are *jagirdars* of the Emperor and receive handsome pay. There is not money enough to spare. Wherefrom shall I give it? After sometime when the countries will be occupied and *daroghas* will be stationed, you will get what you demand." The Rozbihani follower of Mir Jumla attributes the incident to Aurangzeb's policy of persecution of the Hindus. The Rajputs like Ram Singh and Bhao Singh hearing that Aurangzeb who had destroyed temples and built mosques, wanted to execute the

Hindus, became apprehensive of their lives and decided in a meeting to desert the imperialists. But these explanations are not adequate. The facts that *all* Rajputs did not desert Mir Jumla, that Raja Indradyumna remained loyal, and that two Muhammadan generals, Sher Beg and Syed Shuja'at Khan, joined the deserters, all go to divest the incident of its exclusive Rajput character and show that causes, deeper than mere financial discontent or narrow sectarianism, were at work. The true reason is that mentioned by 'Aqil Khan, Aurangzeb's equerry, and supported by the official history, '*Alamgirnama*. A false rumour of Dara's victory at Ajmer (Deorai, 12th-14th March) and of Aurangzeb's flight to the Deccan had reached Mir Jumla's army at Pialapur, and had demoralised a section of it. The Rajputs, in particular, secretly brooded over the possible vengeance of Dara on their homes in Rajputana. They suspected Mir Jumla's detour to be a secret scheme to escape with Prince Sultan Muhammad to the Deccan.

Without wasting any time in a vain endeavour to dissuade or punish the deserters, Mir Jumla with the remnant of the army, still 25,000 strong, double the strength of Shuja, steadily advanced against him, so that the task of cutting off the enemy's retreat might not be delayed by a single moment.¹¹

7. Mir Jumla occupies Rajmahal

Meanwhile, hearing of the treachery of the *zamindar* of Birbhum and of the advance of the imperialists through his lands, Shuja evacuated Rangamati and hurried to Rajmahal (about 27th March), where he entrenched for a time. The imperialists turned from Ukhra to the north-east in order to strike the Ganges near Murshidabad and bar Shuja's retreat to Dacca. Their arrival at Belghata, 30 miles from Shuja's position, hastened the desertion of the latter's wavering followers. "Fidelity to Shuja now meant only a choice between two miseries, viz., slaughter by the overwhelmingly superior imperial army, and voluntary exile to the dreadful land of the savage Arracanese."

Learning of the encampment of the imperial army on the bank of the Ganges under the command of Mir Jumla, Shuja no longer regarded its right (or western) bank to be safe for him. He did not consider it expedient to fight the imperialists there

owing to "the disorder of the army and evil intention of men", illustrated in the plot of Alawardi Khan and the numerical inferiority of his own army (5000 or 6000 to 20,000). Acting on the advice of a Council of War of amirs, led by Mirza Jan Beg, entitled Khan Zaman, Shuja planned to remove his headquarters and family from the western bank to Tanda (4 miles west of the fort of Gaur, where he would be protected by the Ganges and a labyrinth of *nalas* on his west), to resist the hostile movements of the imperialists, and to utilise the precious months thus gained through the enemy's want of a fleet in "recruiting his shattered power." In other words, Shuja decided to prolong the war with the help of his flotilla and artillery cannonade, so that "the tide might return." So, on 4th April, 1659, Shuja left Rajmahal, crossed the Ganges at Dogachi,¹² 13 miles south, and arrived at Firozpur with his family in order to reach Tanda. He collected the entire flotilla of Bengal at Baqarpur and threw up entrenchments at several places on the eastern or left bank of the Ganges, which now 'intervened between himself and his pursuers.'

The news of Shuja's evacuation of Rajmahal reached Mir Jumla at Belghata, and he at once dashed northwards to capture the deserted capital. Preceded by the Van under Zulfiqar Khan, Mir Jumla, together with the Prince, entered it on 13th April and arranged for its government. Zulfiqar Khan was appointed its governor and asked to hold it, with 5,000 men and assisted by Sayyid Firoz Khan, Zabardast Khan, Raja Indradyumna and Raja Debi Singh. About 4,000 Shujaites, who could not cross the Ganges, returned to Rajmahal and were induced by Zulfiqar Khan to join imperial service. The *'Alamgir-nama* tells us that the occupation of the town, which still contained Shuja's goods and officers, was characterised by a spirit of fair justice and an attempt to conciliate the Shujaites on whom no oppression or plunder was allowed to be committed. The fortifications of the town were sought to be strengthened at the orders of the Emperor and these were completed after about 3 years under Etwar Khan. Thus Mir Jumla occupied the whole country on the right bank of the Ganges from Rajmahal to Hughli. The English factors now came to regard him and the Prince as conquerors of the country.¹³

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The presents included 10 lakhs of rupees, a special *Khilat*, a leather of a swift she-camel, and special elephants with silver trappings and gold brocade cloth, a sword and a gold-embellished shield. His son, Muhammad Amin Khan, too, received one elephant as reward. The '*Alamgirnama* (267) states that, as after his release, Mir Jumla had not been in any high *mansab*, he was now appointed commander of 7000. But we have already seen in the last chapter that Mir Jumla had been appointed Governor of Khandesh in the rank of Commander of 6000 (*Adab*, 95a-b).

2. AN. 266, 267 and 259; *Adab*. 241a (Mir Jumla rewarded); ML. (E and D. VII, 249); For deputation of Mir Jumla, *Poem*, 134-138; ZNA. 91; AS. 20b; MA. 14; TS. 112a, b (relation with Muhammad Sultan); Bernier, 79-80 (Muhammad Amin kept as hostage). Vague or confused statements in Ishwardas, 41a, MU iii. 539, Tavernier (Ball, i. 272), Riyaz, 220; Manucci (*Storia*, i. 333) nearer the truth.

2a. Aurangzeb rewarded the Mir with a gold-worked *Khilat*, a turban or head-dress, a belt, 40 expert, and big elephants of Egypt, Arab horses with gold bridle, several good camels, cash and goods in huge quantity.

3. The strength of the imperialists is given differently in the Sources. AN. 269 (30,000) supplemented by the *Poem*. 135-6 (60,900), TS. 112b; ZNA. 91; FA. 41a,b (50000), Balasore Letter Mar 2, EFLX. 279 (80,000). We get some other names not mentioned in the *Alamgirnama* from other sources:

1. Bahadur Khan (ZA, FA. RS.)
2. The famous eldest son of Rashid Khan Ansari (*Poem*).
3. Son of Sayyid Shuja' at Khan (*Poem*; TS; ZNA).
- 4-7. Shahbaz Khan, Salabat, Salar Firoz, Sayyid Nasir (*Poem*).
8. Raja Sujan Singh Bundela (*Poem*, ZNA).
9. Raja Debi Singh.
- 10-12. Sayyid Shihab Khan, Mughal Khan, Raja Anirudh Singh Gaur (FA).

There were several Islam Khans. Besides Islam Khan Badakhshi there were Islam Khan Chisti (TS), and Islam Khan Khweshgi (ZNA). Dilir Khan (*Poem* and FA.) came to reinforce the Mir at a later stage of the war.

4. Shuja's flight, in AN. 285-6 (Khan-i-Dauran apptd. Subadar of Allahabad), 491-2 (Benares entrenchments); TS. 105b, 101a; ZNA. 91, 74, 80-2; *Poem*, 132, 139; Balasore letter (12th Feb. 1659) in EFLX. 279; *Storia*, I. 333; Bernier, 80.

Mir Jumla's pursuit, AN. 491, 493; TS. 113a; *Poem*, 138-41; ZNA. 91-92, 73-74, *Storia*, op. cit. 327.

Kheri is in the Khyragarh dt; Kuntit is near Bindhyachal, 10m. west of Mirzapur. *Ind. Atlas*. 88.

According to Manucci (*Storia*. I.333) Shuja fortified himself in Allahabad and won over the Hindu rajas on both sides of the Ganges. But evidently he was played false. Mir Jumla desiring to gain his end by diplomacy rather than by force, sent them presents and misleading letters. He also fomented the Hindu princes ruling about Benares and Patna, having a grievance against Shuja. They hindered his supplies but gave the Mir a free passage. So Shuja had to retreat to Benares. Bernier (80) is right when he says that Shuja was continually afraid of an insurrection on the part of the rajas of Lower Bengal, from whom he had made exactions (see Sarkar, II, 470, for exactions at Benares) and therefore proceeded eastwards.

5. Chakra or Jekra in the text (*Poem*, 142). It may be identified with Jakepoorah, about 100 yds. s.e. of Suragegurra. Rennell sh. 15. Is it Kajra near Kiul?

6. ZNA. 92; AN. 493-5; 286 (Daud Khan); TS. 113a, b; graphic description of route, of. Barkankal, *Poem*, 141-5; Bernier, 80-81n; Ball, I. 124; *Storia*, I. 333-4; EFI. X. 272, 280-1, (distorted version), 283; RS. 221n; Aurangzib II. 568 (Monghyr, importance & fortifications); MU III 539; Masum (TS. 113b) states that Muhammad Sultan, finding the road to Monghyr blocked, decided to reach Burdwan through Jharkhand and then reach Rajmahal. This is a curious anticipation of a subsequent move of the imperialist army. The same mistake occurs in a Balasore letter of 12th April (EFI. X. 281-2). Bernier's statement (81) that Mir Jumla sent a part of the army down the river as a feint, cannot be accepted, as he was then lacking in boats.

7. Rangamati is Lalmati, midway between Teliagarhi and Sakrigali, and 1/2 mile (south of Sahebganj Station (*Ind. Atlas*. Sh. 112).

8. Pialapur, shown 60 miles east of Monghyr in Rennell, Sh. 15 does not suit here. Sir J.N. Sarkar thinks that Tarrapour, about 22 miles s.e. of Monghyr is more suitable. Can Pialapur be a copyist's error for Paharpur (Rennell, Sh. 15.)?

9. AN. 495-6; 336-7 (month Jumadi I wrong, should be Jumadi II); Significance of Shuja's entrenchment, *Aurangzib*, II. 570; *Poem*, 145-8; ZNA. 92; EFI. X. 281-3; both Bernier (81-2) and Manucci (*Storia*, I.334-5) are misleading.

10. *Poem* 148-151 (plan of advance); AN 496-7; ZNA. 92-93; EFI. X. 282; Ball, I. 272-3; MU. III. 539; 12000 in *Riyaz*, an underestimate. RS. 220, 221 and n; *Aurangzib*, ii. 570-1; TS. 113b. Ukhra is now in Burdwan dt. Rennell. SH. 9,

11. AN. 497-8; ZNA. 93; TS. 115b, 116a. The term 'fire—worshippers' used in Sectional heading but 'Hindus' in text; *Poem*, 151-3; *Aurangzib* II. 571-3. See BPP. 1925-6. Both AN and TS agree that Mir Jumla did not try to dissuade the deserters. But according to the *Poem*, a fruitless effort was made by Mir Jumla and Zulfiqar Khan to find out the deserters, but Mir Jumla is said to have prevented the Prince from executing the fugitives on

the ground that "it was unbecoming of the prince to fight with servants

The seceding Rajput contingent is differently estimated: ZNA (4000); TS (10-12000); Balasore letter (30.4.1659), 14000 Rajput horsemen.

12. For Dogachi, see *Ind. Atlas*. Sh.112. There is another Dogachi, 2 miles south of Dunapur, but that is not meant here. Ferozpur, 1 mile s.w. of Tanda, is shown as 1 mile north of the Pugla R. *Ind Atlas*, Sh. 119.

13. AN. 498-501; ZNA 94-5; TS. 1161. b; *Poem*, 153-4; *Aurangzib*, II. 573-80; *EFI*. X. 281-3; Bernier 81-2 (account different).

SECTION C

The War on the Ganges

1. Mir Jumla's difficulties in the new theatre of war

With Shuja's evacuation of the western bank of the Ganges the war entered an altogether new phase. So long it had been pre-eminently a land operation, decided by Mir Jumla's turning movements and overwhelming superiority in numbers. That is why Shuja could not dare face the imperialists even once. But now, with the Ganges separating the rival forces, the war became essentially a naval contest, in which Shuja had certain decided advantages over his pursuer. In the first place, the lord of Bengal, the land of waterways, had a powerful *nawwara* or flotilla. He now either seized the private boats, or sunk and burnt them, to prevent their capture by the enemy. On the other hand, Mir Jumla's army was nothing but a land force, a "flying army" as the English factors called it. He had not brought boats with himself and could not hope to easily procure any in Bengal because of Shuja's "scorched earth" policy. His initial efforts were paralysed by his pitiable lack of a naval arm. In the second place, Mir Jumla was also very weak in artillery, having dragged only light pieces with him from Khajwa. But Shuja had a vast store of big pieces of artillery, admirably manned by the European (Portuguese) and half-caste (or *mestico*) gunners of Hughli, Tamluk and Noakhali. By offering them high pay and making generous promises for the future as regards money and freedom to establish churches, Shuja succeeded in enlisting in

his service thousands of Portuguese, who had taken refuge in Bengal, after having been ousted by the Dutch from Ceylon and Jafnapatam. With his base at Tanda, and by means of entrenchments, flotilla and artillery, Shuja defended various places on the eastern bank, like Baqarpur and Firozpur, opposite the imperial front extending from Rajmahal to Suti. By properly co-ordinating the two arms, by mounting his "great guns" on the boats, Shuja could even use his mobile artillery with deadly effect anywhere against Mir Jumla's positions on the western bank of the river. Master of the Ganges, Shuja could defend himself splendidly despite his hopeless paucity of men, though he was unable to launch an offensive against the imperialists. What he evidently wanted was to try his utmost till the last moment. His strategy in taking refuge behind the river was thus based on a clear grasp of the relative strength of the rival forces, and it was undoubtedly the most advantageous under the circumstances. It considerably delayed his pursuit, by multiplying Mir Jumla's difficulties. The English factors of Balasore, though unaware of Mir Jumla's likely stratagems, shrewdly and rightly diagnosed the situation, when they observed (30th April, 1659) that if Mir Jumla was to succeed that year, he must win before the advent of the rains.¹ But this was rendered impossible by his deficiencies in boats and artillery. Baulked in some of his initial enterprises, unable to cross the Ganges and helplessly confined to the western bank, Mir Jumla was compelled to suspend the chase, when, taking advantage of the rains, the fugitive Prince even assumed the aggressive and wrested Rajmahal from Mir Jumla's men. It was only when a diversion had been slowly effected against Shuja by a vast turning movement of the imperialists on the heart of Shuja's defences at Tanda that the centre of gravity shifted away from a theatre of war, where Mir Jumla's position was inherently weak, and he could once again take up the field against Shuja.

The history of the next one year,—from 13th April, 1659, when Mir Jumla occupied Rajmahal to 12th April, 1660, when Shuja reached Dacca, was the story of how Mir Jumla, after alternate success and failure, finally frustrated Shuja's grand strategy. It was indeed a drama which unfolded itself in three acts, in which events moved like the swinging of the pendulum

of a clock. The first act, in which Shuja played a defensive game, was staged on the river Ganges: it ended on 8th June, 1659 with Prince Muhammad Sultan's flight to Shuja. In the second act the pendulum oscillated to the western bank: Shuja assumed the offensive, recaptured Rajmahal but could not retain it. In the third act, the final phase of the war, Mir Jumla regained his offensive and the pendulum turned from the western to the eastern bank, and Shuja, almost encircled from three sides, had to leave the eastern bank for ever.

2. Mir Jumla's first naval coup at Dogachi

Without losing heart at the difficulties arrayed against him in the new theatre of war, Mir Jumla steadfastly endeavoured to tide them over. His first concern after the occupation of Rajmahal (13th April) was to secure boats, as it was impossible to advance a single step without them. A fortnight's persistent search in remote and obscure spots was rewarded with a modest collection of a few boats.

Meanwhile, without wasting time at Rajmahal, where no action was possible without a vast flotilla, Mir Jumla accompanied by the Prince, had proceeded (14th April) to Dogachi, 13 miles farther south, and took up his quarters there. There was a high island in midstream opposite his camp, forming a half-way house to Baqarpur on the other bank, where the Shujaite general, Sayyid Quli, had entrenched with his artillery, with Shuja himself in the rear and a flotilla cruising along in front. With his characteristic keenness, the Mir at once grasped the strategic value of the island. But as he had no boats till then, a Shujaite detachment stole a march over him, seized it one night and began to entrench and erect *dumdama* (raised batteries) in order to cannonade against the imperialists.

Then, with his boats ready at hand, Mir Jumla planned to wrest the island from the Shujaites and, if possible, to cross over to the eastern bank. But, before launching the expedition, the experienced general advised the Prince to erect on the bank an entrenchment, equipped with cannon, musketeers and rocketmen, as a precautionary measure. In many secret journeys, conducted after midnight under Mir Jumla's skilful management and

personal inspection, the boats transported to the island about 2,000 personal followers of Mir Jumla and some imperial officers like Zulfiqar, Fateh Jung, Rashid Khan Ansari, Lodi Khan, Sujan Singh Bundela, Taj Niazi, with their respective followers, 200 *beldars* and a few guns. In the morning the Shujaites, discovering the invaders, rowed away with their guns, and their deserted entrenchments were hastily occupied by the imperialists.

Next day the Shujaite admiral, Fidai Khan, pitted his entire flotilla including many Europeans in a severe assault on the imperialists. Behind the smoke-screen of artillery fire on both sides, he effected a landing on one side of the island and was hastily entrenching, when he was charged by Taj Niazi and his Afghan fighters. For sometime the issue seemed to hang in the balance. Mir Jumla, watching this deadly, hand-to-hand duel from the bank, grew so alarmed as to pray to God for victory. At last the Shujaites were hurled back and some of their boats were sunk. Finally, the imperialists secured undisturbed possession of the island by repulsing yet another attempt of the Shujaites to recapture it with fast boats and artillery during which "the roar of the guns was so great that even the fish became restless in the river."²

3. Mir Jumla's naval enterprises at Suti

This first stroke of Mir Jumla was in reality a daring and well-conceived one. He had shown remarkable promptness in securing boats. He succeeded in stealing a march over Shuja evidently because the enemy, over-confident in the strength of his entrenched position, had underrated Mir Jumla's capacity and had not anticipated any such move. Warned by the loss, Shuja now became more vigilant. While his cruising flotilla defended his western front, exchanging fire with the imperialists between Rajmahal and Dogachi, he massed his men and artillery opposite Mir Jumla. Again, the river was as wide here as at Rajmahal. Hence Mir Jumla rightly realised that it would be hopeless for him to transport his men and arms in his few boats or land by surprise on the opposite bank in the presence of such a strong and watchful enemy, and that it would be

impossible to defeat the enemy even after a protracted struggle. This inevitable stagnation necessitated a change of tactics on Mir Jumla's part. Modifying his previous arrangements he bided his time. He distributed the imperial army along the whole western bank between Rajmahal in the north and Suti (28 miles south-east of it) in the south; Rajmahal under Muhammad Murad Beg; Dogachi (opposite Shuja's camp) undert he prince, together with Zulfiqar Khan, Islam Khan and most of the army; Dunapur, about 8 miles further south, commanded by Ali Quli; while Mir Jumla himself took post at Suti, with 6 or 7 thousand men to cross the river.

Mir Jumla's choice of Suti was marvellous, determined by the deficiency of boats. The river was narrow here and easily fordable, as some local men had informed him. Its fording would have compensated his previous reverses by giving him quicker victory. The Prince, too, accepted the Mir's valuable advice. To prevent boats and forlorn Shujaites from crossing over to Shuja and thus disclosing his plans to the enemy, Mir Jumla closed all ferries and passages. So strict was the embargo, and so high was the penalty, that even stealthy crossings were impossible, not to speak of open attempts; any culprit detected while crossing had his nose and ears cut off.

The day after encampment at Suti, Mir Jumla attempted to cross the river. Unfortunately, the divers could not sound the depth of the river. He regretted his reliance on the words of local men. In fact, there was "a sudden rising of the waters in the Ganges" about 14 days earlier than usual. This accident saved Shuja from another immediate discomfiture.

Anticipating danger, Shuja deputed Nurul Hasan to oppose Mir Jumla at Suti and Isfandiar Mamuri against Dunapur, while his eldest son, Zainuddin, carried his family to Tanda for safety³.

Mir Jumla now planned to transport his men to the other side as secretly as possible and then to go personally and entrench there. In feverish haste he set about gathering boats. He sent his officers to several places like Hughli, Cassimbazar and some others for the purpose. He called upon men to supply boats of any kind available, *Kisti* or *ghurab*, threatening to desolate their country and property with the help of the soldiers in

case of failure. The threat had the desired result. Within 10 to 15 days about a hundred boats of various sorts (*kusas*, *Khaluahs rahwaras*) were placed at the disposal of the Mir. Zulfikar, too, sent 40 boats. With this hastily collected flotilla Mir Jumla could now guard his front against sudden swoopings by Shuja's mobile boats. The latter could now rove up and down for a distance of 40 to 50 leagues only along the eastern bank.

Losing command of the western bank, Shuja now set up a high battery of 8 large guns for cannonading on the imperial lines across the river. To put a stop to the consequent damage to his men and cattle on the bank, Mir Jumla sent one night an expeditionary force on 10 boats to capture the battery. But it was detected and repulsed. So Mir Jumla changed the time and, next mid-day, sent a party, consisting of 20 imperial troopers and many of his own retainers. His very audacity contributed to his success. Swiftly sailing across along with the wind, which had thrown the defenders off their guard, his men swooped on the battery, drove nails into the port-holes of 2 guns and came away with the other six, without suffering any loss⁴.

4. Mir Jumla's signal failure on 3rd May, 1659

Spurred on by success, Mir Jumla planned another *coup* on a much larger scale. But Shuja was more vigilant now. Terrified at the heroic, surprise stroke of his adversary, he had replaced the negligent commander, Nurul Hasan, by an able and devoted officer, Sayyid 'Alam of Barha (Khan-i-'Alam). Leaving the trenches and batteries on the river bank lightly manned, Shuja concealed his picked troops and fierce war-elephants under Sayyid 'Alam and Muhtasham Khan behind camouflaged ambuscades.

Mir Jumla's preliminary or reconnaissance boat-raid on Sayyid 'Alam on the night of 2nd May, 1659, miscarried. At dawn (3rd May) 73 boats of Mir Jumla carrying a mixed force of Mughals, Sayyids, Afghans and Rajputs, numbering in all 2,000, led by Qasim Khan and Shahbaz Khan, started to effect a landing on the opposite bank and entrench there. When the first two or three boats reached the other side, Ihtimam Khan and his men, unaware of any lurking danger, occupied the

enemy entrenchments by over-powering their scanty guards. Suddenly the Shujaites emerged from the ambush with their war-elephants and completely enveloped the small party of the imperialists who had to put up a gallant defence in the captured redoubt. Mir Jumla, witnessing the reverse from the western bank, could do nothing to turn the tide; the fugitive and frightened crew refused to return to help their brethren despite his entreaties. He suffered heavy casualties: about half of the troops, "the very pick of the.....army" perished, including 3 or 4 captains; of those wounded or captured, numbering 500, some were sent to Firozpur, Malda and other places and the rest were put to death. The moral effect of the disaster was greater than the loss in manpower and materials. He was highly mortified; "the disaster," indeed, "dimmed the lustre of his hitherto victorious career". But he screwed up courage to make fresh efforts. He also learnt to be "extremely cautious" and careful for the rest of the campaign.⁵

The cause of Mir Jumla's tragic reverse has been accurately diagnosed by Masum, the Shujaite historian. He observes: "Even though this (move) was an act of wisdom and courage, it must be admitted that it would have been wiser on his part first to enquire of the enemy's strength and conditions and then start on the boats Mu'azzam Khan, without due discernment and eye to future had launched the expedition, hoping to fall on the enemy unawares." In other words, Mir Jumla had not taken the usual precaution of reconnoitring the enemy's dispositions and taking stock of his strength. Evidently this negligence arose from his over-confidence, born of egotism and elation at his previous success. Sir Jadunath Sarkar pithily observes that Mir Jumla "committed the fatal mistake of despising the enemy." Mir Jumla himself admits his mistake in a soliloquy attributed to him by his Rozbihani follower: "I am now 70 years old At last in my old age, by some fruitless thought, I have suffered a reverse ..." The English factory records ascribe the failure of the imperialists to the fact that they were "in small boats," whereas the Shujaites were in jellares (*jalia* or *jalba*) or large boats.⁶ Shuja's boats did include, we learn from the '*Alamgirnama*, many fast-boats (*kosas*); while since about 1,000 imperialists were carried in 6 boats, it cannot be

said that all the boats of Mir Jumla were small. Still it must be admitted that the difference in the relative size of their respective flotillas contributed somewhat to Mir Jumla's failure.

5. Mir Jumla's preparations for a fresh offensive

Mir Jumla now began his preparations for launching a fresh offensive. To make up the deficiency of boats was a pressing task for him, demanding his constant attention. He endeavoured to collect these and other materials for a naval war from Hughli, Murshidabad and Burdwan. His agents ran about in search of carpenters to build boats and to summon as many boatmen as possible. All big boats coming down the river were stopped and seized; and none could pass beyond Muxadabad (Murshidabad). To counterpoise Portuguese support to Shuja, Mir Jumla began to make a diplomatic use of his position as Mughal general in Bihar and Bengal in his relations with the Dutch and the English factors there. Being only 35 miles from Kasimbazar, he requisitioned the Dutch gunners and physicians. While the English did not see him, the Director of the Dutch, Mattheus Van den Brouke, proceeded from Hughli to meet him. It was rumoured that the imperial commander-in-chief offered the government of Hughli to the Dutch in return for a sum of two lakhs of rupees. Early in July, 1659, the Director promised to give all possible help to Mir Jumla, who ordered him to have the river guarded by mounting all great guns ready on their sloops.⁷

Mir Jumla was also engaged now in extending Aurangzeb's authority into Orissa. The Mir tried to secure the adhesion of towns near Balasore to the imperial cause by sending officers and issuing orders to other towns. He also sent private letters to the Shujaite Governor of Balasore asking him to visit Sultan Muhammad. But though the latter was still afraid to desert Shuja, the English factors expected that Mir Jumla would soon occupy Balasore and that its Governor would "willingly embrace the surer side."⁸

Mir Jumla realised that a mere frontal attack, however well-organised it might be, would not succeed in dislodging Shuja from his entrenched positions across the river. He must track the lion in his own den. He must create a diversion which

would set Shuja flying to protect his rear. In other words, Mir Jumla planned to hem in Shuja from the north, the east and the west. For the execution of this master-plan Mir Jumla had to depend on Daud Khan, the Governor of Bihar.

Referring to his discomfiture at Suti in a letter to Daud Khan, Mir Jumla urged upon him to recruit soldiers and "open the door of the treasury," to summon rich nobles like the valiant Hadi and 'Abdul M'aal, 'Ali Khan and the Kakars along with their respective retainers and to collect as many boats (*kisti* or *ghurab* i.e. gunboat) as possible, and to equip each boat suitably with artillery. To avoid being impeded by floods, Daud was asked to march at once against Shuja as rapidly as possible with all the collected force and later on to send the war-boats to Mir Jumla. Further, Daud was advised to instruct the Rozbihani force under Chiragh Beg and Rashid, sent by Mir Jumla (at Suti) and Muhammad Sultan (at Dogachi) respectively, to cross the Kosi. Thus the combined army of Daud Khan, Rashid and Chiragh would attack Shuja on the left bank of the Ganges, and then Mir Jumla would cross it with Daud's boats, join in the grand assault on Shuja, and so "strike at the root of the enemy's power."⁹

6. Flight of Muhammad Sultan to Shuja

While Mir Jumla was endeavouring to heal the wounds, caused by the severe mauling of 3rd May, he had to suffer another unexpected loss, which stupefied his army for a while. His associate commander, Prince Muhammad Sultan, deserting his post at Dogachi, fled to Shuja on the night of 8th June. It was a terrible ordeal for Mir Jumla. It would have ended fatally but for his splendid courage, presence of mind and control over men.

The flight of the Prince¹⁰ was due,—besides his ambition of getting the throne, his love towards Shuja's daughter, and the tempting overtures of his uncle,—to his resentment against Mir Jumla's tutelage, fanned by allegations of some mischief-mongers, and his apprehension of his arrest by the Mir at imperial mandate. The Emperor's suspicions of his son were deepened by either, as the Shujaite historian says,—Mir Jumla's

written accusation against the Prince for his pretended "ignorance and negligence", contributing to the failure of the coup of 3rd May, or—as the *Poem* tells us—by the adverse comments against the Prince made by two spies, deputed by the Emperor to report on the loyalty of the army. At this the Emperor wrote to the Mir: "All affairs, in general and particular, both there and here, are guided by your opinion. If my son do not follow your advice, and if you do not consider his stay desirable, quickly send him back." The imperial message, purporting to be an order for arresting the Prince and packing him off as a prisoner, was intercepted by his road patrols. The Prince lost all patience, but, confident of a sure asylum across the river, he escaped that very night.¹¹

Mir Jumla, then at Suti, was taken aback at this turn of events. Firmly keeping his own men pacified, he rode to the Prince's camp at Dogachi the next morning. On the way he was relieved to learn the true cause of the flight from Aurangzeb's spies, who had escaped from the surveillance of the Prince's guards during the confusion following the event.

Mir Jumla found the camp at Dogachi in utter disorder. Everywhere the Mir found defiance, indecision and despair. But Mir Jumla, "a born leader of men," knew how to deal with such desperate situations. Before a council of war, attended by all soldiers, great and small, he delivered an impetuous harangue. At first he won their confidence. Then he challenged them in a spirited manner. Refuting the argument that further fighting would be futile, he appealed to them: "You are fearing an enemy, who has fled like a jackal! he has fled from us, not we from him." Then he instilled courage into their hearts by observing "Even if the enemy is bright like the sun, I am, you know, like a cloud; and I would envelop him like a cloud...I will drive him towards the group of *firingis* (Portuguese)". Pointing out that the desertion of the Prince was immaterial, he thundered: "The Emperor has made me commander. It is only for consultation that the Emperor sent him (the Prince) with me." Next, moderating his tone and reposing his confidence in his audience, he unfolded to them his contemplated strategy during and after the rainy season, and assuaged their groundless fears.

Mir Jumla's address, vibrating with anger, reason and hope,

produced the desired result. It completely won over the faltering and rebellious hearts. All welcomed it as a counsel of perfection, and agreed to obey him as their sole head. Mir Jumla, beaming with joy, now tactfully promised to recommend the generals to the Emperor for promotion and grant of suitable rewards. He also ordered the treasurer to give the soldiers three months' pay.

Having won over the soldiery, Mir Jumla drove away a Shujaite raiding party designed to carry away the provisions and stores and men, left behind by the Prince. He also confiscated the deserter's property and treasure in the name of the Emperor and enlisted his men in imperial service. Thus, through Mir Jumla's heroic efforts the leaderless army was infused with new hopes and courage, and weathered the storm. "It lost", as 'Aqil Khan remarks, "only one man—the Prince".¹²

Leaving Fidai Khan and Islam Khan at Dogachi and sending Zulfiqar back to Rajmahal, Mir Jumla returned to Suti, and on 10th June he despatched Rashid Khan to Daud Khan, then at Qazi Keria.

When the heavy rains of Bengal hampered all military activities, Mir Jumla sent the army to cantonments. He now followed a policy of withdrawal and concentration. Withdrawing the posts at Dogachi, Dunapur and Suti, he concentrated the army only at two places. He himself remained with 15,000 men at Ma'sumbazar (Murshidabad), an elevated ground having abundance of provisions. Zulfiqar Khan, together with Islam Khan, Fidai Khan, Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, Ikhlas Khan, Raja Indradyumna, Qizilbash and others, stayed at Rajmahal.¹³

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For Shuja's command of the Ganges, artillery and his plan, Balasore letters of 30th April, 18th May and 15th December, 1659, in EFI. X. 282-4; TS. 117 (Shuja's capture or sinking of boats near Rajmahal); *Aurangzib*, II. 578-81, 593; CHI. IV. 225; Bernier, 82 and *Storia*, I. 335, for Portuguese support; AS. 20b.

2. AN. 501-503; TS. 118a (boats collected); The *Poem*. (154-167) gives the name of the leader of the imperialists who defeated Fidai as Salabat Khan.

3. New arrangements, AN. 503-504; *Aurangzib*, II. 582-3; ZNA. 95; Mir at Suti, *Poem* 162-65; ZNA. 95; TS. 117b. EFI. X. 283. At Suti Mir Jumla resided in the house of Muhammad Shah, son of Shah Murtaza deceased. MH. 209-12; Unsuccessful fording *Poem*, 165; EFI. op cit. AN. 504; ZNA.

4. *Poem*, 165-7; TS. 118a; ZNA. 95; EFI. X. 283-4; AN. 504-5; *Aurangzib*, II. 583-4.

5. Graphic description in AN. 506-509 (preliminary boat attack of 2nd May); TS. 118a-119b; *Poem* 167-174; ZNA. 95; MH. 209-12; Miserable plight of the imperialists in *Aurangzib*, II. 584-6.

The imperial expeditionary force is numbered 2,000 by Ma'sum (118a, b) and 3,000 by 'Aqil Khan. Masum's estimate is borne out by the English factory records which state that Mir Jumla lost about 1,000 men, i.e., half of the army (Balasore to Masulipatam, 18th May; letter of Edmund Foster at Kasimbazar 8th May, EFI. X. 284).

6. TS. 118a, b; *Poem*, 172-3 (Mir Jumla's soliloquy); EFI. X. 284; *Aurangzib*, II. 584; ZNA. 95.

7. For collection of boats, TS. 119b, 120a; *Poem*, 173-4; AN. 509. For stoppage of boats and Mir Jumla's relation with the Dutch and the English, EFI. X. 284 and n, 286, 288 n. *Vide* Section F. sub-section 2 *infra*.

8. EFI. X. 285, 287.

9. *Poem*, 172-8; AN. 513. Abdul Maal is to be identified with (Mirza) Abu-l-Maali, *faujdar* of Tirhut and later of Darbhanga. MU. Tr. I. 136-7. Text. III. 557-560.

The *Alamgirnama* states that the strategy of a two-pronged offensive against Shuja originated with Aurangzeb, who ordered Daud Khan to advance from Patna eastwards. But it would be impossible for the Emperor, hundreds of miles away from the theatre of war, to devise strategy best suited to the military situation, unless the suggestion went from Mir Jumla, the man on the spot. The Rozbihani author explicitly states that the initiative of this master-strategy to effect diversion against Shuja was taken by Mir Jumla immediately after the failure of the frontal assault scheme from the south-west of 3rd May.

There is a lacuna in the *Poem* (ms) for the total strength of the army required by Mir Jumla: Daud received the letter brought by an express courier in 3 days. He thus got about a week's time to start.

The Kakars were an Afghan tribe (distinct from the Gakkars) settled in North Bihar after Sher Shah.

10. For the Prince's flight, AN. 509-12; 406-7; TS. 120b-124a; ZNA. 96-7; *Poem*, 183-194; AS. 20b; Ball's Tavernier, I. 273-4, Bernier, 82-3; *Storia*. I. 336; *Aurangzib*, II. 586-9, MU. III. 540-1.

11. For strained relation between the Mir and the Prince, AN. 511; *Storia* I. 336. For Emperor's suspicions and letter to Mir Jumla, TS.

120b-121a, corroborated by the *Poem*, 183-188; Ball, I. 360-1, It seems possible that the Emperor sent the spies to verify Mir Jumla's accusation.

12. For Mir's speech and confiscation of property, *Poem*, 188-94; EFI. X. 289; ZNA. 96. The repulse of the Shujaites could not have taken place before the restoration of order, as 'Aqil Khan says; again the Mir came on the second and not on the third day of desertion. See *Aurangzib*, II. 588.

13. ZNA. 96-7; *Poem*, 194-5 (deputation of Rashid to Daud); AN 512-13.

SECTION D

The War Moves West of the Ganges

1. Mir Jumla's increased difficulties

Prince Muhammad Sultan's desertion of Mir Jumla was a turning-point in the history of the War. With it the offensive which had remained with Mir Jumla ever since his capture of Rajmahal passed to his opponent. So long Shuja had pursued a purely defensive strategy. Now, for the first time in the war,—which, unhappily for him, was also the last,—he assumed the offensive. Not only did the war enter a new phase, the scene of it changed, too. With the flight of the Prince to the eastern bank of the Ganges, the pendulum of the war which had stood on the river, oscillated to the western bank. Shuja now made a bold push to the west and recovered Rajmahal.

The defection of the Prince undoubtedly multiplied the difficulties of Mir Jumla. True, the numerical strength of the imperial army remained unaffected,¹ but its morale did not. Mir Jumla's loss was Shuja's gain. In the Prince, conversant with the secrets of Mir Jumla's army, Shuja had undoubtedly a trump card to be thrown at his enemy. His very presence, even without any army, encouraged Shuja so much that he was determined to fight to the last. The Balasore factors shrewdly observed (15th December) that Shuja was "resolved now to abide the last extremity of the war, having at the last cast a good pledge by

him" in the eldest son of Aurangzeb. The advent of the rains, too, added to the Mir's practical difficulties. Not only did the rains and the floods isolate the two imperial camps, sixty miles distant, by making the intervening road almost impassable, but there was now constant danger of the Shujaites cutting off the imperial army's communications and supply of provisions.

All these factors caused the depression of the imperialists. On the other hand the exultant Shuja planned to launch a direct assault on them. But which camp of Mir Jumla would he attack first?—Maksudabad (later Murshidabad) or Rajmahal? The choice fell on Rajmahal on the western bank of the Ganges. An assault on Murshidabad would be attended with certain disadvantages. His flotilla would not be able to launch a direct assault on the upland cantonments of Mir Jumla at Murshidabad. Again, he feared that the European Companies at Hughli and Kasimbazar, who were lukewarm in their loyalty to himself, would help Mir Jumla. This seemed to have been the decisive factor. On the other hand Rajmahal could easily be subjected to a direct assault by water. Its recapture would revive his prestige. Relief would be difficult either from Daud Khan in the north-west or from Mir Jumla in the south. Accordingly ships of war were prepared for an invasion of Rajmahal.

Shuja's strategy consisted in not only starving the imperialists at Rajmahal to submission by an effective blockade of the town but also in preventing Mir Jumla from receiving supplies from the European companies at Hughli. The provisions sent by Mir Jumla from Murshidabad to Rajmahal on water were intercepted by Shuja's flotilla. By winning over many *zamindars* in Bihar and western Bengal, Shuja endeavoured to intercept goods and messengers on land. Thus Harchand, the Raja of the Majwa hills, subsidised by Shuja, waylaid every merchant (*banjara*) transporting to Rajmahal even a bullock's load of grain. A Kasimbazar letter of 5th July tells us that Shuja gave a free hand to the *zamindars* to rob any merchant or soldier of his money, horses and goods on condition that they would side with him and supply him with whatever elephants they could capture. Naturally they had already begun closing the way between Hughli and Kasimbazar so effectively that no merchant could dare pass with goods for fear of being robbed on the way and

not even a peon could pass safely with a letter.²

2. Shuja recovers Rajmahal

Mir Jumla could do nothing to relieve Rajmahal. Handicapped by his hopeless deficiency in boats, he had perforce to remain the silent but uneasy spectator of the growing isolation of that water-locked city, effected by the enemy's powerful flotilla mounted with artillery. Shuja's blockade was so successful that no grains sent by Mir Jumla reached Rajmahal. A graphic description of this man-made famine at Rajmahal, has been left by the Shujaite historian, Masum, an eye witness. He writes: "Grain rose to the price of gold. Coarse, red bad-smelled rice and *dal* sold at nine seers a rupee"..... "In the agony of hunger, men took morsels of poison." "The butchers sold meat at a rupee a seer. If the poor wanted to take meat, they had to take their (own) meat. If the mouth had tasted any meat it was the flesh of their lips." Having no stock of grain, Masum had to spend 20 to 30 rupees a day. The empty houses stood awaiting their owners' return: dogs and cats sat in the shops: the places of worship were deserted: the wine shops were without wine. "The flame of famine shot up, and smoke seemed to come out of earth and time." But even this description, hyperbolic though it is at places, does not,—he cautions the reader,—suffice to adequately express the gravity of the situation, for, "whatever is said is like a grain lifted from a heap of rice." Mir Jumla's Rozbihani follower also admits that the famine was so severe both in the town and in the villages that "one piece of bread became like the water of life" (*ke nan shud bamanand ab-i-hayat*). 'Aqil Khan, too, observes: "Men began to sustain themselves by the blood of their liver in place of food." The ravages of flood and famine and the consequent loss of their horses and draught cattle reduced Mir Jumla's men at Rajmahal to dire straits: and when the discord among their generals brought the cup of distress, disorder and depression to brimful, they had no alternative but to evacuate Rajmahal.³

The right moment now arrived for Shuja to strike. Without any opposition from the imperialists, his admiral, Shaikh 'Abbas, captured a hilly tract, named Patura, south of Rajmahal, and

made it his base for launching boat-raids to plunder the town. After some time, Shuja became emboldened to cross over to the western bank of the river. Leaving Serajuddin Jabri, Mir 'Alauddin, diwan, and Muhammad Zaman, Mir i Saman, at Tanda, Shuja arrived at Patura on 18th August. On 22nd August he suddenly invaded Rajmahal with his war boats. As the imperial commandant, Zulfiqar, occupying the spur of an elevation between the old and the new towns was incapacitated by illness, Raja Indradyumna alone had to offer a strong opposition to the invader. Islam Khan and Fidai Khan, who were entrusted with the duty of watching the town, could not decide upon a common course of action. Finally, they decided to leave the town and withdraw to Mir Jumla. Proceeding along a causeway, coming from the skirt of the hill to the new town, the two generals advanced against the enemy but reeled at Shuja's heavy artillery fire and gave up fighting even though the pressure from the enemy was not very great,—as the official history admits. At night the imperialists beat a retreat to Murshidabad, deserting all their important strategic positions, and leaving all their property to be seized by the enemy. Thus Shuja regained Rajmahal and restored his authority on the right bank of the Ganges.⁴

Mir Jumla administered a stern rebuke to his generals who had come to him pell-mell. "Wretches", he roared, "you are unfit to conduct war... It behoves you to put on silken attire, to drink goblets of wine, and to relax in the garden with a singing damsel... Man's greatness consists in valour. The law of the valorous is majesty. It cannot come from old jackals. You have fled from an enemy, who has no strength and no soldier...". The General's taunt evoked an angry protest from Zulfiqar. He remonstrated that it was not befitting for the General to denounce so many distinguished officers as unmanly cowards. Zulfiqar himself had won renown in the war against Jaswant Singh, against Dara and Shuja too, and explained that he had retreated with the entire army not for fear of Shuja but only because the dearth of provisions threatened it with starvation. Noticing Zulfiqar's righteous indignation, Mir Jumla consoled him by recognising his bravery and observing how, being the victim of Shuja's deception, he had given up without effort the

town which the Mir had captured after great exertion. He also assured the Khan and rest of the army not to grieve over the loss, by expressing that it had been predestined, and that he was confident of wresting it from Shuja.⁵

Shuja had achieved the first of his objects with surprising rapidity and ease. But he failed in his plans in isolating Mir Jumla in the south. In fact, Mir Jumla did not remain idle at his rainy season cantonment of Masumbazar. His vast numerical strength enabled him to spare a contingent for the purpose of sweeping clear the southern routes to Hughli and even the hinterland beyond it, of the roving bands of the retainers of the Shujaite *Zamindars* of south-west Bengal. Early in July he deputed a *faujdar* (? Muhammad Sharif) with 500 horsemen to clear the way between Kasimbazar and Hughli, to conquer Hughli again and even occupy Midnapur. Shuja, in his turn, commissioned Mirza Isfandiar (Major Splindar of English factory records), his governor of Engilee (Hijili) to advance towards Hughli with 6,000 infantry and 500 horsemen and some gelliares (*jalbas*) in order to reinforce the governor of Hughli. But evidently he could not reach the scene in time. Though the English factor at Kasimbazar apprehended that Mir Jumla's men would have to face unexpected danger, finally they succeeded in occupying Hughli, and when early in September they occupied Midnapur, Shuja's force had only arrived at Narayangarh, about 17 miles south-east from Midnapur.⁹

3. Battle near Belghata and Giria

After recapturing Rajmahal, Shuja had to hit upon his next move. Would he march against Daud Khan, who had been advancing towards Rajmahal or march south against the Mir? Advised by Prince Muhammad Sultan, Shuja decided to take the field himself against Mir Jumla and his vast army, soon after the rains, because the defeat of Mir Jumla would render Daud's advance utterly futile. Nevertheless he did not altogether ignore Daud Khan, against whom he deputed his general Fidai Khan, and admiral Khwaja Mishki (Itibar Khan). At the close of the rainy season, Shuja started from Rajmahal *via* Dunapur, Dogachi, and Suti, and reached Belghata in two

months. His army consisted of 8,000 mail-clad warriors. A flotilla of *Kusas* and *ghurabs* sailed down the river abreast of the army on land.

Mir Jumla quickly arranged the army in battle array: the Van was led by Zulfiqar Khan, the Right by Muzaffar, the Left by Fidai (Khan Koka), and the artillery was under Muhammad Murad Beg, while Muhammad Aghar (Uighur) acted as Hara-wal. Advancing 20 miles from Ma'sumbazar, he entrenched behind a deep *nala* near Belghata on the bank of the Bhagirathi. Throwing two bridges over it,—one very near the army and the other a mile off—he fortified their heads. Ekkataz Khan was placed in charge of the right bridge. To prevent the retreat of generals from the field on the pretext of the flight of their elephants, Mir Jumla ordered them to ride on horses only. Anyone violating the prohibition would be trampled to death by elephants. The news of the advance of Mir Jumla produced consternation in Shuja's ranks.⁷

With the rival forces separated by the *nala*, a battle⁸ of artillery began on the 6th December about 1.1/2 *pahars* of the day. After a few days of cannonading and skirmishing, Shuja pretended to retreat towards Rajmahal, in order to deceive the imperialists. But, when Mir Jumla's army pursued and encircled the enemy, the Shujaite Van under Muhammad Sultan suddenly veered round and swooped down on Ekkataz Khan guarding the head of the right bridge with only 400 men (15th December). The overpowered guard appealed to Mir Jumla for reinforcements. Accordingly, the latter asked Zulfiqar to send a mixed force of his Aghar (Uighur) and Rozbihani contingents, numbring 7,000, with instructions to pursue the Prince in case of victory. But Zulfiqar soon reeled at the latter's terrific fire, and together with the wounded Ekkataz, fled to their own side of the *nala*, burning the bridge to prevent pursuit.⁹

The moment had come for Mir Jumla to stir. Of the three generals of Shuja, the Prince, leading his Van, who had past experience of the imperialists, was preoccupied at the right bridge. So Mir Jumla planned his characteristic flanking movement in order to encircle Shuja and attack him from the rear. Leaving Zulfiqar Khan in charge of the imperial army, Mir Jumla

crossed the *nala* by the left bridge. His march, hampered by jungles and mud, was slow. Near Giria, on the bank of the Bhagirathi, he wheeled round Shuja's rear, commanded by Mir Isfandiar Mamuri, entitled Khanzad Khan, and dispersed it by volleys from cannon rockets, elephant swivels and camel swivels. So hard pressed was Shuja at the Mir's terrific onset that the Prince had to come to his relief and was promised half of Hindusthan in case of victory. Leaving Ibn Husain, *darogha* of artillery, to oppose Zulfiqar, Shuja sallied out 'with a small force but great hopes', and 'with God's grace as his Van', to face Mir Jumla, 'the old man who had been worrying him.'

After 3 *pahars* of the day had passed, Shuja faced the imperialists in battle order. His rear was protected by a village and his front by his artillery. Its commander, Mirja Jan Beg, stood like a solid wall with his regrouped pieces of cannon, which were fired simultaneously with shells of 10 and 15 seers. Mir Jumla's men, advancing like waves, were mown down by this furious cannonade. His plans were upset. For some time, he "could neither advance nor retreat." The imperial troops shrank back in great disorder. The '*Alamgirnama* ascribes it to the defiance of Mir Jumla's orders by the captains, and the consequent separation of the different divisions, which prevented a general charge against the enemy. No decisive hand to hand fighting took place.¹⁰

Both sides were now exhausted. Shuja did not charge Mir Jumla, though the latter was reduced to great straits in spite of his superiority in numbers and materials. The Shujaite historian says that if he had done so, he could have defeated Mir Jumla. But the explanation is not far to seek. Whatever success Shuja had gained in the last two engagements,—at the right bridge and in the rear-guard action at Giria,—was due to the splendid execution of his artillery. Mirza Jan's terrific cannonade had, however, exhausted his ammunition, and without an artillery cover he could not risk a hand to hand fighting with the numerically superior imperialists. On the other hand, Mir Jumla, pulling his men back from Giria with great difficulty but with care and skill, and probably unaware of Shuja's shortage of ammunition, could not stage a bold night-attack on Shuja's

position with officers, whose morale had been shaken by enemy gun fire.¹¹

Mir Jumla now bided his time. Having already asked Daud Khan (then at Monghyr) to expedite his diversionary march across the Kosi towards Tanda at the end of the rains, he expected Shuja everyday to suddenly give up the war and fly back to the eastern bank of the river in order to defend his own base. Weak in artillery and eagerly looking up for Dilir Khan to bring reinforcements from the Emperor, he did not deem it politic to waste his man-power and dwindling ammunition in any more fruitless skirmishes. So he quietly retired from the *nala* towards Murshidabad.¹²

Emboldened by Mir Jumla's retreat and unaware of the danger lurking in his own rear, Shuja designed to cut him off from Murshidabad. Crossing the Bhagirathi, he marched parallel to Mir Jumla down the other bank to the ferry of Nashipur (Nasirpur), 12 miles north of Murshidabad, and hoped to cross the river again and cut off the Mir's retreat. Here a cross-river artillery duel continued for several days. On the night of 26th December, Shuja was about to cross the river when he received the grave news that Daud Khan, after having forced a passage across the Kosi by defeating his own admiral, was rapidly converging on Tanda.¹³

4. Daud Khan's advance from Patna towards Malda

To understand this miraculous turn in the tide of Shuja, it is necessary to take a brief review of Daud Khan's activities since his receipt of Mir Jumla's instructions and the imperial mandate in the month of May. Daud took immediate action on the Mir's letter. By offering to appoint his generals in imperial service and giving three months' pay in advance, he soon collected a large force. He summoned two *pahalwans* of Mehsi and Darbhanga with their men, money and materials, the Mankali family and three Kakar leaders. Next he purchased some boats (*kisti* or *ghurab*), from the local *majhis* (boatmen) and equipped each of them with 10 gunners and artillery.¹⁴

With these preparations and leaving his brother's son, Shaikh Muhammad Hayat, as his deputy, Daud started from

Patna at the head of 1,500 cavalry and 2,000 infantry on 13th May. Crossing the Ganges there on a bridge of boats and sailing down the flooded rivers, the Saraju and the Gandak, after overcoming great obstruction from the enemy entrenchments on them, he reached the village Qazi-keria (opposite Bhagalpur) in about three weeks' time and then sent 90 boats to fetch the Rozbihanis, who had then arrived at Bhagalpur. But he was forestalled there by the Shujaite admiral, Khwaja Mishki (Itibar Khan) who had a large flotilla, consisting of *Kusas* (fast boats) and *ghurbas* (gun-boats).¹⁵ At the end of the first day's battle, which was a mere indecisive artillery duel, Daud placed 10 equipped boats each with 10 armed pickets to guard the river at night. It was only after Khwaja Mishki's defeat on the second day that Rashid, deputed by Mir Jumla (10th June) with a Rozbihani force under Chiragh, met Daud and conveyed to him the news of Sultan Muhammad's flight and Mir Jumla's instructions to him not to leave Qazi-Keria till the end of the rains. As a matter of fact, the floods on the Kosi, the Kalindi and the Mahananda rivers brought Daud to an absolute halt here. Acting on Daud's instruction, Rashid entrenched from bank to bank and successfully held his own against enemy cannonade. Next day, after a futile effort to attack Daud's party with mobile *Kusas*, Khwaja Mishki had to retreat to Bhagalpur. Here he captured a *faujdar* of Mir Jumla. But the Shujaites were, in turn, routed by the nephew of 'Ali Quli (Shamsher), also deputed by Mir Jumla with 100 men to secure the release of the *faujdar*, and the imperialists captured war materials and collected *Kharaj*.¹⁶

About this time, Shuja flushed with his victory at the recovery of Rajmahal (22nd August), ordered his general, Fidai Khan, to go to Monghyr and fight the imperialists in the area extending from Bhagalpur to Surajgarh, occupy all villages and roads and control all ferries with his own men. He was also required, in co-operation with Khwaja Mishki, to attack Daud, who had then crossed to the right bank between Bhagalpur and Colgong. 'Ali Quli's nephew, Shamsher, did not risk any battle with the numerically superior force of Fidai, and so, leaving Bhagalpur, retreated to Jahangira (near Sultanganj). After a bold and rapid night march from Bhagalpur, deserted by the imperialists, Fidai,

captured Jahangira from its commander, Ismail, with all cash and materials, placed *tarafdars* and *rahdars* in every village, controlled the ferries and awaited Shuja's further instructions. Ismail, wounded in the artillery duel there, had to be carried to Monghyr, where he died.¹⁷

But Shuja did not feel safe till Daud was disposed of and the country brought well under control. Moreover, Monghyr was then well-guarded,—the fort by Muhammad Hossain and its environs by his five associates. Rasul, Mirza, Hasan, Shamsher and the brother of the deceased Ismail. So forbidding Fidai to advance towards Monghyr or Surajgarh, Shuja asked him to occupy all ferry crossings from the *dehkans*, to collect revenue from the country acquired, and to conduct a naval war with Daud. He also instructed Fidai, in case of victory, to slay Rashid, Abdul Maal, Hadi, Yusuf and all others except Daud, and send their armies to be utilised by Shuja against Mir Jumla. Accordingly, leaving Jahangira under guard, Fidai, advised by Khwaja Mishki, immediately embarked on his flotilla in order to encircle Daud.¹⁸

The second phase of the naval war with Daud now began. In spite of much firing on the first day, Shuja's artillery-men could not, owing to distance and bad aim, inflict any serious damage on Daud's men, who were strongly entrenched. Next day, Rashid and Chiragh put the enemy's flotilla to flight by boldly plunging their horses into the river, in the teeth of intense enemy cannonade and against Daud's orders. Even after one week's naval battle, the Shujaites failed to slacken the morale of Daud's party, when the ebbing flood water compelled them to retire with their 700 boats to Jahangira. Shuja, greatly disheartened, remarked that the tide of fortune was turning against him. About September (?) he recalled Fidai Khan in order to advance from Rajmahal against Mir Jumla, then at Masumbazar and placed Khwaja Mishki with his boats at Jahangira to occupy the ferries and prevent Daud from coming to Rajmahal.¹⁹ About this time Daud received a letter from Aurangzeb, ordering him to cross the Ganges near Monghyr and there await the arrival of Farhad Khan with money and reinforcements, 1,000 Uzbeks and Uighurs, 50 Rozbihanis under 'Abdun Nabi, arms and ammunition,—to give three months' advance wages to the

soldiery, place 40 cannon on boats, clear the path for Mir Jumla by swooping down on Fidai and Khwaja Mishki, and then send Farhad Khan with men and treasure to Mir Jumla and follow his advice. Daud, in reply, promised to abide by these instructions and prayed that, in view of the incessant warfare for five months, the Emperor might be pleased to reward the Khans. The Emperor agreed with this suggestion and Daud conferred immediate favours on the Rozbihanis, led by Chiragh. Daud's rank was increased by 1,000.²⁰

Starting from Qazi-Keria early in December, with one-half of the army under himself on boats, Daud asked Rashid to hurry on horse-back towards Monghyr with the other half along the left bank of the Ganges and to help him, if attacked. Khwaja Mishki barred Daud's way at Jahangira with a flotilla, largely manned by Europeans (possibly Portuguese) and mesticos but was expelled by the Rozbihanis under Rashid, sallying out of his camp at Gogri (opposite Monghyr). Repulsing Khwaja Mishki again with the help of Chiragh Beg, Daud reached the left bank of the river at Monghyr with great difficulty and crossed over to the right bank in 3 days and 3 nights under cover of defences which proved too strong for the Shujaite admiral. Muhammad, the *havaladar* of the fort, obstructed the enemy's advance by cannonade; 40 boats of Rozbihanis under Chiragh, anchored on the left bank, and entrenchments were thrown up on the right bank by Hasan, Mirza, Shamsheer and other Shaikhs and Pathan leaders. The Shujaite admiral had to retreat to Jahangira with a loss of 40 cannon and 10,000 rockets. But even Jahangira they had to desert soon before the simultaneous advance of Daud's army from Monghyr in two lines, the cavalry being under himself on land and 700 boats sailing down the river. Daud now despatched Farhad (who had arrived at Monghyr) together with 'Abdun Nabi, Hasan, Mirza, Shamsheer and Muhammad Rasul and other reinforcements sent by the Emperor to Mir Jumla. However, Khwaja Mishki continued to vex Daud on water there. And so when Mir Jumla instructed him to cross the Ganges immediately, march on Tanda, capture the enemy's goods, pearls and treasure, wait till his own arrival at Rajmahal, and endeavour to capture Shuja, if he crossed to the left bank, Daud replied that there might be delay in

complying with all these. At Bhagalpur, Daud, forewarned by spies, deputed the Rozbihanis under Chiragh to frustrate Shujaite Yusuf Khan's plan of a night attack and captured stores, camel-swivels, elephant-swivels, guns, rockets and horses. Mir Jumla praised Daud for his successful exploits and admired his firmness and loyalty.²¹

On the eve of his advance to Colgong, Daud was intercepted by Khwaja Mishki with 700 boats. But the latter had to retire to Pialapur and so failed to check Daud at Colgong. Proceeding towards Tanda, Daud found at Garhi (Teliagarhi) that the route along the river towards Rajmahal had been blocked there by Sayyid Tajuddin of Barha, Khwaja Mishki and Jamal Ghorī, who had been commissioned by Shuja to that task. Not risking a battle there with a well-equipped and strongly-entrenched enemy, Daud engaged some *beldars* to dig a canal for the passage of his boats. But though the enemy appeared too soon, from two sides, it had to retire before Daud's three divisions under his son Hamid, Qadir and Chiragh and to entrench on the Kosi. In the battle on the Kosi, Jamal was killed. Khwaja Mishki fled and entrenched on Samdah (opposite Rajmahal) with big pieces of canon. Daud, crossing the Kosi with Mughals, Shaikhs and Pathans, and informed by a horseman from Purnea, deputed his *bakhshi*, Fathulla, with 5000 men to seize 30,000 *dirhams*, 20 *kusas* with cannon, elephant-swivels and rockets from the Shujaite *faujdar* of Purnea, who was taken in imperial service.²² Thus clearing the river of the Shujaites and capturing enemy materials, Daud advanced irresistibly. Crossing the *daria i sia* (the Kalindi) at Akbarpur, east of Sikrigali, he awaited the arrival of reinforcements before advancing further²³.

5. Mir Jumla chases Shuja out to the eastern bank of the Ganges

The vanquished Shujaite admiral, Khwaja Mishki, now appealed to his master for additional help to be able to defend the big *char* (island) of Samdah against an impending assault by the imperialists. Surrounded by water on all sides, it was the last entrenched post, which stood between Shuja's chain of

defences and the invaders. Its loss would open the latter's way to Tanda with all its stores of cash and materials and endanger the safety of Shuja's family sheltering at Malda. In great alarm Shuja held a Council of War. Sending reinforcements to Khwaja Mishki would mean depleting his own army and courting sure defeat at the hands of Mir Jumla. So, postponing a final encounter with him, Shuja decided to immediately withdraw to Malda, entrench at Samdah and oppose Daud. Even taking a longer view of the case, he could, from his river-girt defences on the eastern bank of the Ganges, hold on till the advent of the rains, when he would again resume the offensive with his flotilla and starve the imperialists to submission. To guard the rear during his withdrawal, Shuja planned, at the Prince's suggestion, to send the elephant corps ahead and construct entrenchments to receive the entire army. To prevent desertion, he issued the stern threat that the family and property of any deserter would be confiscated. He decided to fight the enemy, if they advanced; otherwise he would so arrange the artillery as to block the enemy's advance in future. Completing his plans for retreat, Shuja left Nashipur towards the end of 26th December, crossed the Bhagirathi, and advanced towards Suti in order finally to fall back on Tanda.²⁴

Well-served by his *qarawals*, Mir Jumla, who had long been waiting for this diversion, marched forward in pursuit. Wiser by his experience at Giria, he issued a proclamation that any person staying behind "would know that he wore the shroud of the coffin." Starting on the morning of 27th December at 9 A.M., and advancing three miles, he spotted the fugitive Governor of Bengal nestling behind a *nala*²⁵, flanked with bogs on three sides with the artillery guarding his front. Mir Jumla could hardly make any headway in such a swampy land. So he halted and kept up a fruitless artillery duel till evening, when he returned to his camp, taking care to leave his army in the field to face the Shujaites. Mir Jumla got at that opportune moment reinforcements in men and other materials of artillery from the Emperor. On 28th December, Shuja fled from his position. In the morning the imperial general continued the chase by skilfully crossing the *nala* and the swamps together with artillery and men. The couriers brought the news that Shuja wanted to

cross the ferry opposite Tartipur. After proceeding two miles towards it, Mir Jumla heard that Shuja had gone towards Suti. When this was verified by Ikhlas Khan after due reconnaissance, Mir Jumla, too, advanced towards Suti. After 5 miles he halted at Fatehpur. The artillery under Muhammad Murad Beg came up during night. Next morning Mir Jumla resumed the pursuit, and advancing half a mile beyond Suti, faced Shuja, then halting at Chilmari.²⁶

Shuja was obliged to engage the imperialists in artillery action till evening, when about 100 Shujaites darted at the Imperial Right wing under Zulfiqar Khan, and were attacked with swords by 'Abdul Majid Deccani, Pir Muhammad Uighur and others. The battle ended after one hour of the night. Nurul Hasan, finding Shuja's cause to be a losing one, joined the imperialists. It was now impossible for Shuja to resume his offensive and strike at Mir Jumla. The latter's only concern was to frustrate Shuja's plan of crossing the river there.

This accounts for the stalemate which now hung over the battle field, scouts and patrols having daily skirmishes. Abandoning his plan of crossing the river there, Shuja went northwards to Dunapur towards the end of the night of 1st January, 1660. Thence he fled to Dogachi, after having broken one of the two old bridges on *nalas* at Dunapur in order to delay enemy advance. Mir Jumla followed him in hot pursuit but was obstructed by bad roads, *nalas* and damaged bridges. At Dunapur, for instance, Mir Jumla had to fill up with mud the *nala* with the broken bridge and carefully conduct his artillery and men across. Here he came upon a boat and some materials of artillery, 10 pieces of cannon and 200 rockets, deserted by Shuja.²⁷

At Dogachi Mir Jumla threw up an entrenchment for defence. Shuja now endeavoured to combine the stratagems adopted before, at the mid-stream island opposite Dogachi and also at Giria, which had proved so eminently successful. Arranging his artillery, he concealed his men with instructions to remain inactive but to fire all together only when the enemy would come near. The discreet imperial general did not allow himself to be duped by this trickery of his opponent, of which he learnt from the *qarawals*. He refused to assault the enemy emplacements without his heavy artillery, still lagging behind,

and before due watch and reconnaissance. But against his warning, his hasty lieutenants, Fateh Jung and Islam Khan, without making enquiries, advanced to the *nala* of Dogachi with the vanguard. So when the Shujaite, turned at bay, started a sudden and simultaneous cannonade from their guns placed behind the *nala*, the imperialists could not advance.²⁸

Mir Jumla now rushed in with Fidai Khan and Zulfiqar to reinforce his hard-pressed lieutenants, and even, if possible, to cross the *nala*, overpower the enemy by the sheer weight of numbers and capture him before his escape. But the imperial officers shrank from forcing a passage in the face of the intense enemy cannonade. Though equipped with only light artillery, Mir Jumla was obliged to engage in an unequal contest with Shuja from the end of the day to mid-night during which Shuja's determined cannonade took a heavy toll on the imperialists. Yet Mir Jumla had to subject his army to this terrible ordeal, so as to allow the enemy no respite, and no opportunity to escape.

Mir Jumla's tenacious fight in the midst of such heavy odds so demoralised Shuja that 'he began to bite the tip of his finger' (*Sar angasht hairat badandan guzin*).^{28a}

At long last Mir Jumla's heavy artillery came up and was at once put into action. It began to inflict heavy casualties on the Shujaite. This meant the end of the skirmish. About mid-night Shuja's artillery stopped. Mir Jumla, too, retired to his camp but kept the artillery directed against the enemy.²⁹

Next day (2nd January) Mir Jumla marched towards Raj-mahal along the western side of the *nala*, as Shuja advanced parallel on its eastern side. The latter was now in a nice fix. To cross the Ganges so near the enemy was not an easy task. If he attempted to cross it first, he would be deserted by his army, and if the latter were transported before him, there was the risk of his being captured by the enemy. Therefore, digging a deep moat round his camp, Shuja threw up entrenchments and mounted guns on them. Suspecting Muhammad Sultan now, he sent him to Tanda. In vain did Mir Jumla try by frequent artillery volleys to frustrate Shuja's attempt to throw a bridge of boats over the Ganges. On 9th January, 1660, Shuja crossed the river on the bridge and carried away its boats too.³⁰

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Mir Jumla was able to win over the wavering retainers of the deserter and the Prince had gone over to his uncle with only half a dozen followers.

1a. Loss of morale of the imperialists, *Aurangzib* II. 589; *EFI* X. 289 (Prince, a trump card); *AN*. 512; *TS*. 124b (Rajmahal).

2. *ZNA*. 98; *TS*. 126a; *EFI*. X. 289, 290 (bet. Hughli and Kasimbazar); *AN*. 515-6. The Majwa ($87^{\circ} 37' E, 25^{\circ} 2' N$) hills stretch westwards of Rajmahal, *Ind. Atlas*, Sh. 112.

3. *TS*. 126a-131a; *Poem*, 201; *ZNA*. 98 (exaggerated); *EFI*. X. 289; *Aurangzib*, II. 590; *AN*. 515-6.

4. *AN*. 516-19; *TS*. 125; *ZNA*. 99; *Poem*, 201-2; Ball's Tavernier, I. 275; *Aurangzib*, II. 590-1; Patura is shown as Putoorah, 5 miles south of Rajmahal, *Ind. Atlas*, Sh. 112.

The Balasore factors ironically commented that Sultan Muhammad came to recover Rajmahal from those whom he had commanded. *EFI. op. cit.* 289.

5. *Poem*, 202-6.

6. The English factors were evidently perturbed over the closure of all traffic due to the two armies confronting each other. *EFI. op. cit.* 290 and n; 291 and n. The Kasimbazar—Hughli letter of the 5th July suggests that Mir Jumla had conquered Hughli before but that it was recovered by Shuja, probably after the former's failure at Suti and now again, Mir Jumla wanted to reconquer it.

Hijili (Port Angeli) is the coastal tract on the western side of the Hughli estuary, including Tamluk in the north and bounded by Jallasore and Midnapur in the west. See Ingellee (10 m. east of Contai) and Narangur in Rennell, Sh. 7.

7. There is a discrepancy about Shuja's strength. It is estimated at 20,000 mail-clad (*zirihposh*) cavaliers and 10,000 foot. But the four divisions consisted of only 12,000. For Shuja's strategy and disposition of respective armies, *Poem*, 325-35; Mir Jumla's prohibition, *Poem*, 334; *AN*. 514 (Shuja at Tanda) 519-20. Aqil's statement that Shuja started from his camp at Bandar Machchli (?) after 12 days. *ZNA*. 99; *TS*. 13. a-b (consternation in Shujaite ranks); *EFI. op. cit.* 292.

8. For the entire campaign at Belghata and Girja, *AN*. 520-24; *TS*. 131b-133b; *ZNA*. 99-101; *Poem*, 336-48.

9. *TS*. 131b; *AN*. 520-22 (Ekkataz's valiant defence); Aqil says that Shuja seized the bridge. But the Prince, acting as his Van, was more likely to have done so. *Poem*, 336-9. Shuja's strategic retreat in *ZNA*. 99-100.

The burning of the bridge illustrated the application of the 'Scorched earth' policy.

10. Mir's encircling strategy, and details, AN. 522-4; ZNA. 99; *Poem*, 339-45; Shuja's revived hope and revised battle order and artillery fire, TS. 132a-133b; *Aurangzib*, II. 592.

Md. Sultan assuaged his desperate father-in-law; Shuja's praise of Mir Jumla's tenacious resistance. *Poem*, 339-42.

Masum says that the battle lasted till one *pahar* of the night but according to AN. the Mir retired at sunset.

11. TS. 133b; *Poem*, 344-5. Aqil says that Shuja retreated in confusion, pursued by the imperialists. But Mir Jumla did not pursue him further at night. Next morning Shuja escaped. ZNA, 101; *Aurangzib*, *op. cit.* (Shortage of ammunition). Thus it is not so incongruous as Sir J.N. Sarkar thinks (*Aurangzib*, II. 593n), to reconcile 'Aqil's version with AN. and TS.

12. AN. 524-5; *Aurangzib*, II. 593; *Poem*, 345-48 (Mir Jumla holds a council of war and summons physicians for Ekkataz, who however, dies).

13. AN. 525-6; TS. 134a; *Poem*, 349-50 (Daud converging on Malda, sheltering Shuja's family).

14. See *ante* Section C. *Poem*, 17-18. The Kakars were an Afghan tribe distinct from the Gakkars, settled in N. Bihar after Sher Shah. The Mankali was an Afghan family which had opposed Akbar's conquest of Bengal (*Akbarnama*, III. 169, 186, 191).

15. *Poem*, 179-80; ZNA. 95-6; Daud's associates, AN. 513-4. There have been undoubtedly great changes in the course of rivers since then. The AN. states that Daud crossed the *daria-i-Tarjuk* i.e. R. Saraju, i.e. the Ghaghra then joined the Ganges below Patna. Pickering's letter from Patna (16th May) gives the number of Daud's army as 5,000 horse, and Chamberlain's letter (17th May) gives the date of Daud's departure as 17th May. EFL. X. 285.

16. *Poem*, 180-201; AN. 514 (halt at Qazi-Keria).

17. *Poem*, 201-17; TS. 124b-125b; AN. 514.

18. *Poem*, 218-23. Shuja, though stronger in naval force, was weaker than the imperialists in man-power or land force.

19. *Ibid.* 223-38.

20. *Ibid.* 238-52 (Rashid's rank also increased); Mir Jumla at Masumpur with 60,000, men.

21. *Ibid.* 252-95; AN. 524 (reinforcements). For Emperor's letter and *Khilat* to Mir Jumla, *Poem*, 269-76; Mir's reply, *ibid.* 276-9; Mir's letter to Daud, *ibid.* 280-2.

22. *Ibid.* 296-316; AN. 514, 526.

23. *Poem* 316, 350; by 20th December, acc. to Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, II. 594.

24. For Khwaja Mishki's appeal and Shuja's Council of War, *Poem*, 348-53; for Shuja's retreat to Suti, TS. 134a; *Poem*, 354; AN. 526; ZNA. 101. For Samdah and Tanda (Tarrah) see Rennell, Sh. 15.

25. This seems to be the Bansli Nala joining the Bhagirathi at Belghata. See Rennell, Sh. 11.

26. AN. 526-8; *Poem*, 354-61 (Mir Jumla's proclamation). Tartipur is

shown as Turtypour, about 3/4 mile east of Suti on the eastern bank of the Ganges (Rennell, Sh. 15).

27. AN. 528-30; *Aurangzib*, II. 595.

Dogachi is shown as Jourgatchy, 3/4 mile north of Downapur, Rennell, Sh. 15. This satisfies the description of parallel march of the rival forces on either side of the *nala*, and opposite it is the island midstream.

8. *Poem*, 361-4 (Shuja's strategem and Mir warning); AN. 530; ZNA. 101-2 (Shuja at bay).

28a. The Rozbihani eulogist makes Shuja exclaim: 'I have not seen such a man in war (); he is like Plato in wisdom and like Rustam in bravery; his lion-like troopers are insatiate in war. With such a general I could easily have conquered the whole world. God has given such a wise person (and guide) to Aurangzeb, because He wills to make him Emperor.'

29. AN. 530-1; *Poem*, 364-65. Shuja reached Dogachi 29 days after Giria. ZNA. 101-2.

Once during the crisis caused by dwindling ammunition, Mir Jumla prayed to God to save "the honour of his white beard" (*sharm-i-resh sufed*). He assured his men that as 'an offspring of the Prophet and Ali' (*nasl-i-Nabi o-'Ali*) he would never flee from the field. He fired the demoralised troops with zeal to stand their ground by exhorting them that men would live as long as they were fated to do so and that they could not die of war. Mir Jumla's tenacious fight against such heavy odds drew forth praise from Shuja' (*Poem*, 365-73).

30. AN. 531-2; TS. 134a; *Aurangzib*, *op.cit.*, for Shuja's dilemma, *Poem*, 373-4; (date of Shuja's escape, Jan. 2 wrong) 423; ZNA. 103; See Rennell. Sh. 15 for the *nala*.

SECTION E

The War East of the Ganges

1. Preparations for crossing the Ganges

With Shuja's final evacuation of the western bank of the river Ganges and Mir Jumla's recovery of Rajmahal, the War of Succession in Bengal entered its final phase. In obedience to the imperial mandate that the river Ganges must be crossed as soon as its western bank had been cleared of the enemy, Mir Jumla lost no time in making preparations for it. Suitable arrangements were made for defending its right bank against the enemy's sudden reprisals. On 10th January he held a consultation with his nobles at Dogachi and deputed a column of 3,000 under Farhad Khan together with an artillery under Muhammad Murad Beg to open the riverside road *via* Rangamati and Garhi to Monghyr, so long closed by the enemy. On the 11th the General started for Rajmahal to cross the Ganges there with the boats of Daud Khan. On his way he received the news that Dilir Khan (with 2,500 Afghans), deputed by the Emperor, had crossed the Ganges (9th January) at Kadamtola ferry on boats supplied, according to Mir Jumla's advice, by Daud Khan, then at Akbarpur. The government of Rajmahal was placed under Islam Khan who was to be assisted by several officers and a contingent of 10,000 horse. A *faujdar* and a *kotwal* were appointed. Entrenchments were thrown up on the river bank, and information was kept of the enemy's movements so as to prevent him from attacking Rajmahal. Officers

and agents were sent to every *pargana* and *chakla*. Rasul Beg Rozbihani was appointed *thanadar* of Rajmahal. *Thanas* were also set up between Dogachi and Suti. To prevent a repetition of last year's surprise, Dogachi was guarded by Islam Khan himself with a force of 5,000; 'Ali Quli Khan was placed in charge of Dunapur. The country between Rajmahal and Teliagarhi, including Rangamati together with the hinterland of Bara Jungal, was to be guarded by Raja Kokalat Ujjainia, while that between Teliagarhi and Monghyr by Raja Bahroz.¹

Hastily completing his arrangements, Mir Jumla, accompanied by several nobles including Zulfiqar Khan, Raja Bahroz and Raja Kokalat, encamped at Pirpahar, the northern extremity of Rajmahal on the 11th January. Next he encamped at Kadamtola (alias Dodha) north of Pirpahar. Mir Jumla now deputed an officer, Sayyid Nasiruddin Khan, to bring 17 lakhs of rupees from Monghyr for the expenses of his campaign. He returned with 14½ lakhs to Samdah about the middle of February, 1660.²

It only remained for Mir Jumla now to give effect to his plan³ of encircling Shuja, who had his defences at Samdah, Chauki-Mirdadpur, Tanda and Malda,—a plan which had taken eight months to mature.

2. Mir Jumla at Samdah

On 13th January, Daud's son, Shaikh Hamid, brought his flotilla of 160 boats to Dodha (alias Kadamtola) where the Ganges was split up in three streams. Mir Jumla crossed the first narrow stream on 15th January by a bridge of boats. Then the boats were transported to the second and wider stream and the men, too, were distributed in such a way as to reach the big island of Samdah between the second and the third streams (opposite Rajmahal). Last of all Mir Jumla himself reached Samdah crossing the second stream with a bridge of boats on 17th January.

The quick advance of Mir Jumla upset the plans of Shuja. He had proposed to send Muhammad Sultan with guns and boats across the Mahananda against Dilir and Daud Khan. But now he collected his boats together, recalled those sent to the

Prince and deputed *qarawals* to purloin the boatmen of Bengal residing at Samdah.

Mir Jumla, too, tried to counteract these measures. He speeded up the construction of a bridge of boats on the third stream. He deputed a contingent to forestall Shuja's *qarawals*. At the same time he set up a *thana* at Samdah with a force of 1,000 to prevent the local boatmen from joining Shuja. He held a consultation with his lieutenants, Dilir, Daud and Rashid, who had come forward from the other side of the river (Akbarpur) to meet him at Samdah in the afternoon of the day of his arrival and take his advice.

Mir Jumla's difficulties in this theatre of war consisted not only in his lack of boats, but also in the dense jungles and the countless *nalas*, that delayed the advance of his vast army, numerically superior to Shuja's. "The place is so bad," observed Mir Jumla, "that there is a stream at every corner."

Though unable to face the imperialists in the open plain, on account of his helpless inferiority in numbers, Shuja presented a stubborn resistance along the Kalindi and the Mahananda. He constructed a wall and a double line of entrenchments along the Kalindi (here a branch of the Mahananda), barring Mir Jumla's direct route to Tanda, and placed Sayyid Taj and Khwaja Mishki in charge of the entrenchments along the Mahananda. Shuja himself remained at the *ghat* of Chauki-Mirdadpur opposite Samdah, along with Prince Muhammad Sultan.

Mir Jumla had to shape his strategy with due discretion and caution. With the enemy strongly entrenched with heavy artillery along the Kalindi, only 4 miles distant from the imperial post of Samdah, Mir Jumla did not consider it advisable to desert Samdah, and advance further eastwards. For this would have meant the fall of Samdah and exposed the imperial base at Rajmahal, too, to the danger of assault. So, though he was anxious to expedite the crossing of the third stream, he kept his headquarters at Samdah for sometime to come (till 29th February).⁴

Moreover, any attempt on the part of the imperialists to force a passage through the Shujaite trenches along the bank of the Mahananda guarded by Sayyid Taj and Khwaja Mishki was bound to be futile. So Mir Jumla planned to cross the Kalindi

above its junction with the Mahananda and then to cross the latter (the Mahananda) by acting on the expert advice of Daud and Dilir. But, to deceive the enemy and keep their attention engaged, he ordered the two Khans along with Farhad to throw up entrenchments, mounted with artillery on the bank of the Kalindi in front of the enemy.

While the work of entrenching was in progress, Mir Jumla (at Samdah) opened an artillery attack on Shuja (at Chauki-Mirdadpur). Even after the completion of the trenches, the artillery duel continued incessantly for about a week. When the enemy was thus desperately preoccupied, Mir Jumla set about discovering a suitable ford on the easternmost branch of the Ganges. He inspected the entrenchment on the river bank at Samdah and cruised along, his swimmers sounding the depth of the water. But it was unfathomable.

Soon afterwards, Mir Jumla's spies brought the happy news of the discovery of a ford in the upper course of the Mahananda at Gunrakha.⁵ By one way it was distant 8 miles from the imperialists, by another only 4 miles. It was a highly strategic site, surrounded by jungles inhabited by many savage rustics (Kuars) and the river was easily fordable there. On the night of 31st January, 1660, the general sent Farhad Khan with *qarawals* and *beldars* to cross the river and entrench there so as to prevent the enemy from blocking the way. Next day (1st February), leaving the army at Samdah under Zulfiqar, Fidai and Lodi Khan by way of feint, Mir Jumla himself, together with Mukhlis Khan, crossed the easternmost branch of the Ganges with a bridge of boats after 1.1/2 *pahars* of day had passed.

Mir Jumla then proceeded towards the ford together with Dilir, Daud, Mirza Khan and Rashid Khan. Here, under Mir Jumla's personal supervision, about 5,000 imperialists, including *beldars*, *qarawals*, *Uzbegs* and *auxiliaries*, crossed the Mahananda (50 yds. wide there) in 3 days (February 1st-3rd), the horses swimming across. At Mir Jumla's command about 30 sunken enemy boats were salvaged and either used as cannon-carriers or for a bridge. Thanks to Farhad's entrenchments and the artillery shots of Pir Muhammad's valiant *qarawals*, an enemy picket, watching the ferry, was rendered powerless to obstruct the crossing and its leader Amir Quli, was killed.

Entrusting the task of guarding the trenches of Dilir and Daud (opposite those of Sayyid Taj and Khwaja Mishki) to the hands of 'Abdullah Khansarai, Sayyid Salar Khan, Miana Khan and Jamal Dilzak, Mir Jumla himself came back to Samdah, where the major part of the army lay, in order to prevent the enemy's crossing.⁶

The outflanked Shujaite generals, Sayyid Taj and Khwaja Mishki, evacuated their trenches in alarm (3rd February) and retired to their master. Shuja was disheartened in the extreme at the fording of the Mahananda by the imperialists and the capture of 3 Shujaites by the imperial *garawals*. But he could neither take any immediate action nor risk any face to face battle. His drooping spirits were revived by the return of Sayyid Alam with Zainuddin, 1,500 cavalry and infantry and 200 guns from Dacca. Planning to hold on his water-girt fortress till the advent of the rains, he concentrated on his defences opposite Samdah.

On the 5th February the imperialists under Dilir and Daud came near the deserted entrenchments. But Dilir's Rozbihani scouts under Chiragh failed to discover the bridge used by the fleeing Shujaites on account of enemy firing, though they found several boats on the other side. To supervise and facilitate the fording of a *nala* of the Mahananda, 2 miles distant from the camp of Dilir and Daud, Mir Jumla crossed the third or easternmost branch of the Ganges and the Mahananda too, together with elephants, fast boats and troopers, and reached the bank of the *nala*, which was bridged (7th February). Next day he sent a detachment under Sayyid Salar Khan, Miana Khan, Jamal Dilzak and 1000 horsemen, many footmen and guns towards Malda to surround Shuja on the east and intercept his only route of withdrawal in the south, his west and north being already barred by the imperial outposts from Rajmahal to Suti and from Samdah to the Mahananda respectively. Shuja was now on the verge of ruin. The Shujaites deserted Malda. At the command of Mir Jumla, Daud Khan, Amir Khan, Rashid Khan and all his own auxiliaries began to throw up an entrenchment between the Ganges and the Mahananda.⁷

3. The return of Prince Muhammad Sultan

At this crisis in Shuja's career Prince Muhammad Sultan deserted his father-in-law and returned to the imperial camp. The '*Alamgirnamah* attributes the Prince's return to his belief that Shuja was now a losing partner. Conscious of his mistake now the Prince went to visit his ailing wife at Tanda and secretly informed Islam Khan, the imperial commandant at Rajmahal, to await his arrival with a force at Dogachi. But the true reason seems to be deeper. Sometime ago, when Shuja evacuated the western bank for ever, he had, as mentioned before, sent the Prince ahead. Again, in his subsequent defensive operations east of the Ganges, we do not find the Prince taking any part at all. It was rather unusual on the part of Shuja to throw the Prince, who had, of late, rendered eminently valuable services to him in several campaigns, into the background. It can only be explained on the assumption that Shuja had come to harbour suspicions of the Prince. This inference is strengthened by a study of the '*Aurangnamah*, and the accounts of the contemporary European travellers.

It was Mir Jumla who, by his diplomatic trickery, reminding us of Aurangzeb's similar strategem during the rebellion of Prince Akbar, caused estrangement of feelings between Shuja and Prince Muhammad Sultan. At the Emperor's instructions, Mir Jumla wrote a letter to the Prince, pleading that the latter had used his stay with Shuja as a means of furthering the interests of the Emperor and advising him to continue doing so until occasion arose to fulfil his promise to his father. As intended by the Mir, the letter fell into the hands of Shuja, who grew suspicious of the Prince. In vain did the Prince disclaim his treasonable complicity in the matter, denounce the letter as a forgery, and ratify afresh the oath of fidelity to his father-in-law. The '*Alamgirnamah* could not very well bear testimony to this trickery sponsored by both the Emperor and his general. This view of Mir Jumla's role in the episode is borne out by a later writer, Ishwards, who observes: "At last Mir Jumla, by acts of *tadbir* and *tazwir*, caught the game in the net again and the Prince came and joined him." Once Shuja's confidence was shaken, the Prince, too, came to be distrustful of this father-in-

law, now a losing partner. It seems that as long as he was with Shuja at Chauki-Mirdadpur, it was not possible for him to do anything. However, when he went to Tanda,—either to see his ailing wife, as the '*Alamgirnamah* says, or at Shuja's orders, as the *Poem* says,—he got an opportunity to correspond secretly with Islam Khan at Dogachi. The arrival of Khan-i-Alam at Tanda with reinforcements from Shuja's son Din Muhammad at Dacca wounded the vanity of the Prince, as he considered himself to have been completely ignored, while the sounding of the drums on the occasion fanned the anger of the penitent Prince, as it implied a violation of the traditional prerogatives of the Mughal Emperor. With his heart sore against his uncle and father-in-law, he stole away as lightly as he had joined him with his heart sore against his father and his father's general. On the evening of 8th February, the Prince left Tanda and, on his arrival at Dogachi, was welcomed by its commandant, Islam Khan, with 18 gold brocades (*Zarbaft*) of Iran, musk, 36 purses of gold besides diamonds and one ruby. Shuja deeply deplored the unbecoming conduct of the Prince, who, he thought, was impelled by a groundless fear of imprisonment at his hands. Feeling forlorn at the turn of the wheel of fortune, Shuja said: 'My tears are for my fate...even he, whom I benefit, turns to be my foe.'

Fast messengers carried the news to Mir Jumla the same midnight. The General returned from the eastern bank of the Mahananda to Samdah on 12th February and duly welcomed the Prince, ordering the drums to be sounded and dismounting from his horse in his honour. He kept the necessary requisites from government stores for him and gave him many valuable presents, 40 purses of gold, rubies and jewels, musk, 8 gold brocades (*zarbaft*) of Iran and presents of Rum and Yunan, 40 Arabi horses with gold-embellished saddle, collected from Egypt and Syria and elephants. But these outward manifestations of honour seem only to be a clever cloak for luring the Prince to put himself at the hands of his relentless father. Mir Jumla, to whom the Prince had gone, at the advice of Islam Khan, for having his case recommended before the Emperor, could do no more than ask him to wait till the arrival of the imperial mandate. The Emperor expressed pleasure at his son's return.

and at Mir Jumla's activities, but ordered his commander-in-chief to send the Prince under proper guard. Nevertheless, Mir Jumla tried to put heart into the hapless Prince by asking him not to worry, as the Emperor was merciful, and on 29th February, despatched the Prince, closely guarded by Fidai Khan, towards the imperial Court.⁹

4. Mir Jumla's advance on Tanda

It only remained for Mir Jumla to draw his net closer round Shuja,—to force a passage across the Mahananda and then cut off Shuja's retreat to the south. Learning from some local *zamindars* of the existence of a ford in its lower course near Baglaghat (Bholahat),¹⁰ the direct ferry-route of enemy supplies, Mir Jumla ordered the detachment at Malda to go there during night and dig trenches. But the plan miscarried as the imperialists were forestalled by Shuja's son, Buland Akhtar, and his general, Sayyid Alam, guarding the right bank of the river.¹¹ The Mir had to bide his time. Apprehending an attack from the numerically superior Shujaites concentrated there, he reinforced the Malda troops and appointed Dilir Khan commander of all operations in the Malda-Baglaghat sector. Leaving his stores at Malda, the Khan (27th February) advanced south, routed a Shujaite contingent under Mirza Beg at Sitalghat, and entrenched at Baglaghat opposite Sayyid Alam and Buland Akhtar on the other side of the Mahananda.

The news of this discomfiture resulting in the loss of command of a section of the left bank of the Mahananda reached Shuja when, together with a small force under Jan Beg and Ibn Husain, he was guarding the southern bank of the Kalindi opposite Daud Khan's army. Commissioning his son, Buland Akhtar, and Khan-i-Alam to hold the passages across the Mahananda in the east, Shuja concentrated on his defences opposite Samdah as its fall would mean the annihilation of his army and the loss of his kingdom.¹²

But, like the one-eyed deer of AEsop's fables, Shuja committed the fatal mistake of staking his all on the Samdah front. Mir Jumla frustrated Shuja's strategy by deceiving him with a screen of men opposite and himself making a wide detour to the more

vulnerable eastern bank of the Mahananda. Indeed, for Mir Jumla the only strategy lay in fording it, a task which demanded his personal presence. So, leaving Daud Khan as commander-in-chief of the entire northern front, and Sujan Singh with 1,000 horsemen and 5000 musketeers at Samdah, Mir Jumla finally left the island on 29th February, crossed the Mahananda next day and proceeded towards Malda (2nd March). On 6th March he came to the Mahananda, a few miles south of Malda, and next day proceeded to inspect Dilir Khan's artillery-mounted entrenchments at Baglaghat, across which stood Buland Akhtar and Sayyid Quli Uzbek.

Mir Jumla now endeavoured to cut off supplies to the enemy from Dacca. Of the three land-routes to that place, two (i.e., *via* Malda and *via* Baglaghat) were already controlled by the imperialists. So Mir Jumla deputed a contingent under Lodi Khan to close the third route through Sherpur and Hazrahati.¹³

The end of the duel between Mir Jumla and Shuja was now in sight. Mir Jumla adopted the same diversionary tactics, characteristic of him in the past. To keep the attention and strength of Shuja engaged in the north, he asked Daud Khan to endeavour to force a passage across the Kalindi against Shuja's entrenchments. He himself remained at Mahmudabad for a month, during which a cross-river artillery duel raged. He forsook comfort and rest, exerting himself unceasingly, in order to bring his war with Shuja to a successful conclusion before the advent of the rainy season. But Mir Jumla found it impossible to force a passage across just in front of the strongly entrenched enemy, "assisted by water, artillery and flotilla."¹⁴

At long last, after many reconnaissances and enquiries, an obscure and ill-guarded ford, four miles below Baglaghat, was discovered by Dilir Khan, thanks to the services of a local raja. Mir Jumla at once acted on the information given by his lieutenant lest 'the only route' would 'go out of hand'. Completing all preliminary preparations and leaving his camp and stables standing at Mahananda, he started therefrom at 3 A.M. on 5th April with an army 10 to 12 thousand strong, picked up Dilir Khan from Baglaghat and reached the ford at dawn. A small enemy picket, guarding the opposite bank with a few guns, was completely taken by surprise.

Without losing a moment, Mir Jumla ordered his men to ford. The leaders, Dilir Khan, Ikhlas, Mukhlis and Muzaffar, showed the way, driving their elephants into the water. Next the cavalry plunged in. The water was shallow only over a narrow strip but very deep on both sides. Owing to haste and enemy-fire the fording was not properly done, and the apportioned water-route was lost, and about 1,000 imperialists were killed. But to Mir Jumla it was not too high a price for this decisive step in the campaign. The Shujaite guards were soon overpowered and fled, leaving their guns and materials in the trenches. Reinforcements under Sayyid 'Alam and Prince Buland Akhtar came too late. Despite their opposition, the imperialists forded the river, and some even crossed it on the bridge constructed with a few boats procured there.¹⁵

The last engagement of the War of Succession was also a crowning stroke of Mir Jumla. Prince Buland Akhtar fled distracted to Tanda while Sayyid 'Alam conveyed the grave news to Shuja at Chauki-Mirdadpur by noon. Shuja, opposite Samdah, cannonading against Daud, was now surrounded on three sides and the only means left to escape capture was to swiftly flee by way of river. On the advice of Mirza Jan Beg, he set out at nightfall from Chauki-Mirdadpur and reached Tanda at dawn of 6th April. The same afternoon at 4 P.M. he left for Dacca in a number of war-boats.¹⁶

5. Tanda—Dacca

Shuja could find time to escape because Mir Jumla was detained at the ford for picking up the corpses of the soldiers in fishing nets and giving all the dead a burial and could not make an immediate dash on Tanda.

Mir Jumla had to remain very busy on 6th April. Early in the morning he started from the ford for Tanda. On the way he diverted to the left with a light division to cut off Shuja's retreat at Tartipur on the Ganges. Seizing Shuja's 400 loaded boats, he left a contingent of 600 musketeers under Nurul Hasan and Mir Azir, diwan of the army as *Waqian'avis* there. Then, making a forced march, he reached Tanda with only 400 men at mid-night.¹⁷

The arrival of Mir Jumla acted as oil on a turbid sea. It was at once followed by the restoration of order (7th April) after a period of wild terror, utter confusion and terrible plunder. He confiscated to the government all available property and strenuously exerted to recover the articles looted by the hooligans of the army. Women left behind by Shuja were protected; the *harem* was well-guarded, and its officers and eunuchs were asked to be fully attentive to their usual duties. The same afternoon Daud Khan reached Tanda *via* Mirdadpur.

Mir Jumla remained at Tanda for 12 days in settling its affairs and arranging for a system of administration for the conquered areas. To snatch away property and stores from the fugitive prince, Mir Jumla deputed men along the river bank southwards. They seized two treasure-laden *ghurabs* at Tartipur; Lodi Khan captured 30 boats of Shuja's flotilla including officers and men at Sherpur and Hazrahati. They now surrendered to Mir Jumla on 9th April and were employed in imperial service.¹⁸

From Tanda Mir Jumla wrote to the Emperor, giving the details of the war, making a special mention of Dilir Khan's services and informing him that Shuja would not remain at Dacca, but would go to Arrakan. Further, the general sought advice if he would send the war-materials to the imperial court. The Emperor was highly pleased to receive the letter on 20th April. He rewarded the General and asked him to leave no arrears as regards payments to the soldiers, send the materials to Delhi, and then to go to Dacca and drive Shuja away.¹⁹

On 19th April Mir Jumla left Tanda for Tartipur. From here he sent Mukhlis Khan to Rajmahal as its *faujdar* in place of Islam Khan, who having some friction with Mir Jumla, had started from there towards the imperial court without permission of the Emperor.²⁰

Leaving Tartipur on 20th April, Mir Jumla came to Hijrapur on the land route to Dacca. He was accompanied by Dilir Khan, Daud Khan, Rashid Khan, Sayyid Nasiruddin Khan, Raja Narsingh, Farhad Khan, Uighur Khan, Qarawal Khan, Abdul Bari Ansari. Next day he hastened to Dacca to prevent Shuja from staying there. Too weak either to chastise the *zamindars* who deserted him or to face the advancing general of the Emperor, the fugitive prince forsook his eastern capital, for

ever on 6th May, in expectation of help from the Raja of Arrakan. Mir Jumla reached the outskirts of Dacca on 9th May. All war materials, stores and property left behind by Shuja were sent to the Emperor. The entire Hindustan now came under him.²¹

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. AN. 532-534; TS. 134a-b; ZNA. 103; *Poem*, 374-77, 379, 380, 424 316-20 (for Dilir Khan). Kadamtola (25° 9' N, 87° 59' E) is shown as 9 m. duen.n.e of Rajmahal (*Ind. Atlas*. Sh. 112).

2. Before this Aurangzeb had sent 18.1/2 lakhs with Mukhlis Khan for expenses. Of this 10 lakhs were at Monghyr, where a further sum of 7 lakhs had been sent by the Emperor. AN. 533-4, 545; *Poem*, 379-80. The *Poem* (377) says Mir Jumla encamped 'at the foot (*bapain*) of Bar Kankal,' which is a copyist's error of Barjangal (cf. Kajangala of Hiuen Tsang's time). It may be identified with Burgungall of John Marshall (72, 117) about 18 m.n. of Rajmahal.

Pirpahar is about 3.1/2 miles n.e. of Rajmahal (Rennell, Sh. 15), though the AN. gives the distance as 18 miles. Dodha 8 miles north of Pirpahar acc. to A.N. is not traceable in Rennell's map. The *Ind. Atlas* (Sh. 112) shows one Dodherajtola (25° 4' N, 87° 57' E) across the Ganges 9 m. n.e. of Rajmahal. There is a place, Innarah, 8 m. north of Pirpahar, and 4 m. south of Sikrigali, which is just opposite Akbarpur (Rennell, Sh. 15).

3. Sir J.N. Sarkar (*Aurangzib*, II. 597-9) gives a summary of Mir Jumla's plan of camping.

4. AN. 534-37, 546; *Poem*, 424-7; *Aurangzib*. II. 599-600. Between Mir Jumla and the two Khans there was one stream, and between Mir Jumla and Shuja there was another. Between Dilir Khan and the enemy was another. Between Mir Jumla and Daud there was *nullah*.

5. According to AN. 538. Gunrakha cannot be traced in the map. Probably it was Gowreah shown in Rennell, Sh. 5.

6. AN. 536-40; TS. 134b, 135a; *Poem*, 384-6 (Dilir Commander across the river), 425 (one month's dwell); *Aurangzib*, II, 599-600.

7. AN. 541; *Poem*, 387-93, 426-7; TS. 134b, 135; *Aurangzib*, II. 600.

8. Mir Jumla's trick, Ball's Tavernier, I. 275, 362; *Storia*, I. 337; Bernier, 83; FA. 47a; Prince's feelings, AN. 542; ZNA. 103; AS. 21a; *Poem*, 402-9, 414-5, 426-7.

On the sounding of drums on arrival of Khan-i-Alam, the Prince is reported to have exclaimed: 'From the time of Timur till now, drums have not been sounded by anyone: my heart rages with fury; let me go to my

father; better even if he slays me, than cherish anger against such generals. 'Poem 435. Shuja's grief, *Poem*, 406-15, Masum, the Shujaite historian, gives expression to his poignant grief in mentioning the defeat of Shuja. 'As pen weeps, while it writes, the breast of the paper is torn, so too is the case with the author.' TS. 160a.

9. Prince's return and death in AN. 544, 546; *Poem*, 415-34; ZNA. 103-4; *Storia* I. 337-8, II. 150; Ball I. 276, 363; AS. 21b; MA. 30, 33; Bernier, 83n; ADM. 109b; *Anrangzib*, II. 600-1.

10. Both the AN. and the *Poem* write of Baglaghat, 5 kos from Malda. Masum (TS. 160b) evidently speaks of this ford, 10 or 12 miles below Malda. It is to be identified with Bollehaut (i.e. Bholahat), 7 miles south of Malda, Rennell, Sh. 15.

The *Poem* (436-49) says that an imperial captain Mirza Beg, deputed by Mir Jumla with 1000 Afghans (of Qandahar) and Iranis to cut off food supplies to the enemy along that way was routed by the artillery charge of Shujaite Fidai Khan, emerging out of jungle with double the number owing to the desertion of the Qandaharis. Mirza Beg was saved from severe chastisement at the hands of Mir Jumla by the mediation of Dilir Khan. Subsequently he was permitted to accompany Dilir so that he might restore his honour but warned that he would be 'sawed into two' if he fled again.

11. AN. 544-5; *Poem*, 435-6.

12. AN. 545-7; *Poem*, 446-57 (graphic description of skirmish at Sitalghat, = not shown in Rennell, Sh. 15.

13. AN. 547-48. *Poem*, 459 (Daud as commander).

Hazrahati is shown as Hazeryhutti on the eastern bank of the Ganges, 5 miles south of Surdah in Shergpur (Rennell, Sh. 6 and 16) The description in the AN. that it is on the Mahananda, 8 miles below Baglaghat, is wrong.

14. ZNA. 103 (Daud to force the Kalindi); AN. 548 (Mir Jumla's exertion); TS. 160a-b (artillery duel); MU. III. 542-3 (Shuja's advantages); *Aurangzib*, II. 601.

15. Fording the Mahananda, AN. 548-51; TS. 161a; *Poem*, 454-69 (author present); FA. 47a-b; *Aurangzib*, II. 601-3.

The losses on the side of the imperialists are estimated differently by the various sources, e.g. more than 1,000 (AN. 550); about 2,000 (TS. 161a); nearly 3,000 men (ZNA. 104); and 3,500 (*Poem*, 469). Circumstances in which Dilir's son, Fatih, was killed, in FA. 47a-b.

16. TS. 161a-162a; AN. 552; *Poem*, 470-80 (Shuja's intention to go to Medina and Mecca); ZNA. 104.

17. AN. 551-552; *Poem*, 480f; TS. 161b (picking up of dead bodies); *Aurangzib*, II. 602-3n; 604-5.

Tartipur is at the junction of the Ganges and the river Bogrutty, which flows east and south of Tarrah (Tanda). Rennell, Sh. 15.

18. AN. 554-5; *Aurangzib*, II. 605; MU. III. 543.

Among the Shujaites now employed by the imperialists were Serajuddin Jabri, Isfandiar Mamuri, Mir Murtaza Imami, Ibn Husain (darogha of artillery), Muhammad Zaman (Mir Saman), Qasim Koka, Darab, son of old Fazil Khan.

19. *Poem*, 480-6 (for Mir Jumla's letter); 487-93 (instructions to Mir Jumla); AN. 476 (date). The Mir received from the emperor a special *Khilat*, a special sword and a shield.

The *Poem* says (487-93) that Aurangzeb's *farman* appointing Mir Jumla Governor of Bengal was sent to Tanda. But the '*Alamgirnama* (476, 483) makes it clear that Mir Jumla got the *farman* at Dacca; the Emperor sent the *farman* on 20th April and Mir Jumla left Tanda on 19th April and reached Dacca on 9th May.

20. AN. 555; ZNA. 104. (*basabab badma'ashi* of Muazzam Khan).

21. AN. 555, 483 (date of arrival at Dacca); ZNA. 104-5; *Poem*, 495-496; Bernier, 108-9; AS. 21b; CHI. IV.226.

Except in the *Poem*, containing incidental references, Mir Jumla's route from Tartipur to Dacca is not described in any source. From Rennell (Sh. 6 16) it appears that he followed the landroute running parallel to the Ganges, from Nabobgunge. Hijrapur is Hoodrapour, south of Tartipur and north of Nabobgunge (Sh. 15). Is the *Rud-i-Awwal* of the *Poem* (496f) the first river that he had to cross (at Surdah)? In that case it may be identified with the Burreel R. (Sh. 6). Probably from Jaffeergunge he did not follow the southern route as it involved the crossing of numerous streams, but diverted to Gwalpara and proceeding thorough Pialapour and Saapour crossed the Dauleserry R. and then the Burriganga to reach Dacca from the north. (Sh. 6, 16, 12) The *daria-i-Aundal* of the *Poem* cannot be Buriganga, it may be Dulleserry.

SECTION F

Mir Jumla's Relations with the Europeans¹ (c. 1658-60)

1. The Junk episode still unsolved

The agreement of April, 1658, did not finally settle the question of Mir Jumla's junk which had been seized by the English during the agency of Greenhill. The latter sold it to Edward Winter, who had it refitted for his private use. Apprehensive of the evil effects of the protracted incident on account of the growing importance of Mir Jumla in the Mughal State, the Surat authorities urged on the Madras factors (27th November, 1658) to demand the price of the junk from Winter. Unless satisfaction was given to Mir Jumla, the Company's trade at Masulipatam and elsewhere stood in danger of being hindered and even stopped. But for various reasons it became very difficult for the coast factors to provide for satisfaction. The Committee of New General Stock (13th September, 1658) disclaimed any responsibility in the matter and warned the factors of the evil consequences of interfering in local political disputes in future.²

Further, on the strength of a *farman* granted by Emperor Aurangzeb for the recovery of Mir Jumla's vessel, Mir Muhammad Husain Tapa Tapa (Tabatabai) the agent of Mir Jumla demanded the restoration of the junk from Winter, and on his refusal, from the Masulipatam factors, and also pressed

for the release of Qazi (Muhammad Hashim?), a general of Mir Jumla, who had been probably captured by the English. To all this were added threats of reprisals on the Company and its factors.

Placed between the two horns of dilemma,—Mir Jumla's renewed demand and the stern rebuke of the Committees in England, Agent Chamber, the successor of Greenhill, was at his wit's end. At his formal orders, Winter surrendered the junk to Mir Jumla's Masulipatam agent but subsequently recaptured it³.

2. Deputation of Mir Jumla to Bihar and Bengal

As additional element of complexity was introduced into the junk episode by Aurangzeb's deputation of Mir Jumla to Bihar and Bengal to conduct the war against Shuja. Though the English factors were mortally afraid of Mir Jumla, their attitude towards the settlement of the incident was characterised by a sense of opportunism and drift and pulsated with the changing fortunes and preoccupations of Mir Jumla and the shifting course of the War of Succession in Bengal. Moreover, while the Bengal factors regarded themselves as free from any responsibility for the actions of the Coromandel Coast factors, Mir Jumla fastened the responsibility on the E.I. Company as a whole, and held that the Bengal factors could not claim immunity from the effects of the junk incident. Thus, one of his earliest acts in Bihar was to prevent the English from procuring saltpetre. Chamberlain, the English factor at Patna, had two interviews with him. At the second interview (21st February, 1659), Mir Jumla spurned at the offer of a present worth Rs. 600, described the English factors as "no better than pirates and robbers" and refused to grant them *dustucks* for transport of goods before receiving compensation for his ship and goods seized on the Coast. At the same time he affirmed that he had done Chamberlain a great favour in not imprisoning the factors and seizing their effects in Patna⁴.

The success of Mir Jumla over Shuja made it urgently necessary for the English to pacify the former as soon as possible. Chamberlain's promise that the junk would be returned or compensation paid, that the arrangement should be confirmed

by the Coast factors within 4.1/2 months, his appeals to the Agent at Fort St. George through Balasore Factors, and the mediation of friends,—all led Mir Jumla to grant the English license to trade in Patna and to consider the incident as finally settled on receipt of papers certified by his agents.⁵

Mir Jumla summoned the Dutch factors from Kasimbazar to his camp at Suti in order to get their help in the provision of artillery. As the English did not voluntarily wait on him, he ordered the closing of their factory at Kasimbazar. But this was avoided, and its chief, Ken, had two interviews with the Nawab in the month of May. Mir Jumla refused to accept the customary presents, demanded the return of the junk and Rs. 40,000, for the payment of which he agreed to wait for two months, and granted several days' time to Ken to secure the permission of the Hughli and Balasore factors. In case of non-compliance, Mir Jumla threatened to stop all trade of the English and seize their saltpetre as partial compensation.⁶ Towards the end of May, Matthias Halstead came to Mir Jumla from Hughli with a letter of intercession for the English from a local official, whereupon Mir Jumla partially conceded to the demands of the English. The Balasore and Hughli factors concurred in fixing the payment of Rs. 25,000 as compensation to the Nawab. Early in June Halstead and Ken had an interview with Mir Jumla, when he agreed to grant his *dustuck* to the English for their trade, provided they gave him a written pledge to make good all his damages within about a month⁷.

The Dutch Director, Mattheus Van den Brouke, was then on his way to meet Mir Jumla, who had ordered the Dutch to guard the river with sloops mounted with their guns, and had not stopped their trade. There was a rumour about the Dutch getting the government of Hughli in return for a large sum of money. But the English, taking advantage of Prince Muhammad Sultan's desertion of the imperial army under Mir Jumla, did not settle the junk incident even by middle of June. In the beginning of September Ken was at Murshidabad in compliance with Mir Jumla's summons, to wait there till the arrival of Agent Trevisa from Balasore. But, owing to the uncertainty of the issue in war, the latter was unwilling to part with any money, and followed a policy of "wait and see". He expressed

his eagerness to interview the Nawab, and forwarded to him a letter from President Andrews of Surat and another from Mir Jumla's agent at Masulipatam⁸.

3. Mir Jumla's reprisals against the English

Mir Jumla was not the person to be conciliated by vague promises. He had waited long. He had shown due civility and consideration to the factors. His patience had been exhausted and he would be satisfied with nothing but "immediate payment." He ordered the Governor of Balasore to send up Trevisa to Hughli and to levy a duty of 4% on all English exports, besides anchorage duties on their ships. By end of November, the trade of the English was almost at a standstill; the articles of that year's investment were purchased by them with money borrowed at high rates of interest as the *banians* feared to lend money to the factors in the face of Mir Jumla's threats to seize the Company's goods for not getting due satisfaction. Thus the Hughli factors had to face "extraordinary troubles" and incur "great expenses" in procuring goods for that year, while the risk of Mir Jumla's placing an embargo on the Company's shipment was still present. Settlement of the "unhappy and troublesome" junk episode was necessary before the English could hope to derive the fullest advantage of the Bengal trade, then considered "the risingst trade in India"⁷

Indeed, alarmed at Mir Jumla's stoppage of the saltpetre trade of the English at Patna, the Surat authorities had ordered the Madras factors to make full and immediate restitution to Mir Jumla for his losses (3rd June, 1659) and send a peremptory order to the latter (12th October) to restore the junk and to pay Mir Jumla out of Greenhill's estate. Early in November, the Madras factors had advised their colleagues in Bengal to ascertain the maximum demands of the Nawab as a necessary prelude to the final settlement. But, relying on rumours of military disasters to Mir Jumla, the Madras factors boldly advised their brethren in Bengal to hold out a threat to Mir Jumla that they "had power to vindicate themselves", if his actions prejudiced the interests of the Company. But those rumours were false, and to the Bengal factors, "acutely conscious

of the power of the offended Nawab, such advice tendered from the security of Fort St. George, must have seemed a bitter mockery."¹⁰

At last, on 1st December, Trevisa left Hūghli together with Ken for Mir Jumla's camp to negotiate with him for settlement of the junk affair. He came to an agreement with the Nawab on the following terms:

(i) the junk was to be returned to him together with all captured articles, (ii) the question of compensation was to be referred to his Masulipatam Agent, "Tapatap" (Tabatabai) and Messrs. Wm. a Court and Wm. Jersip (Jearsey) for final arbitration within four months. Trevisa feared that the Nawab would not grant the English freedom of trade before receiving satisfaction of all his demands. But, thanks to the reasonableness of Mir Jumla, he granted Trevisa his *dustuck* or *parwana*, confirming [7 Jumada II. 1070 (O.S.)=9th February, 1660] the privileges, previously granted to the English by Shah Jahan and Shah Shuja.¹¹

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The results of an independent study of this subject in a more exhaustive and detailed manner have been published in an article of mine, entitled '*The Last Phase of Mir Jumla's Relations with the Europeans* (1658-63), JIH XXIV. 22-48.

2. EFL. X. 98, 106, 184, 186-7, 263-5, 266-72; Love, I. 185n.

3. EFL. X. 263, 264-5; Love, I. 183-5.

4. EFL. X. 280, 264; for Bengal factors, Hedges, III. 189; EAEB. I. 33; JBORS. (March, 1939), 49.

5. EFL. X. 280-2, 281n.

6. *Ibid.*, 286-7; *vide ante* Sec. C. Sub-section. 5.

7. *Ibid.*, 287-8.

8. *Ibid.*, 288, 292-3; 408-9; *vide ante*, Sec. C. Sub-section. 5.

9. *Ibid.*, 294-7.

10. *Ibid.*, 263-66, 273, 389. At the end of February, 1660, the Surat factors also advised those in Bengal to pursue a policy of force, of playing the fox and the lion. As Mir Jumla's influence over Aurangzeb was so great as to embolden him to continue his abuses on Bengal factors and inflic

losses on the Company on the score of the junk episode, in spite of their petition to the Emperor, the factors were asked by the Surat authorities to be prepared to leave the place and seize Mughal shipping. *Ibid.*, 392-3; JIH. XXIV. 38-40.

11. *Ibid.*, 298, 390-1 (*parwana*), For the wrong account of Mir Jumla's granting freedom of trade to the English, as a result of the English physician Gabriel Boughton's (Bowden) activities, see Bowrey, 233-34; Stewart, 251-2, Arguments against, in Hedges, III. 183, 167-8; EAEB. I. 23-39; EFI. VII. xxxv-xxxvii.

CHAPTER 6

Mir Jumla as Governor of Bengal

1. Mir Jumla appointed Governor of Bengal

On receiving (24th May) the news of Shuja's flight to Arrakan and Mir Jumla's entry into Dacca, Aurangzeb ordered the celebration of festivities for ten days. In recognition of Mir Jumla's good services during the last sixteen months in the face of numerous odds, Aurangzeb appointed him permanent Governor of Bengal.¹

The *farman*,² of appointment contained an explicit statement of the reasons for it. This great victory, of which any powerful ruler might be proud, proved the valour and loyalty of Mir Jumla as well as his efficiency and skill in conducting the war to a successful completion in a manner consonant with the Emperor's desires. Again, the province of Bengal,—as Mir Jumla had stated in his letter to his son,—did not possess any sound administrative organisation; and the appointment of an able Governor was therefore an imperative necessity. "On the whole," Aurangzeb wrote to his general, "the laxity in administration, slackness, disobedience and rebellion, which have become rampant there for several years, are not unknown to you.....In every district the din of rebellion is rife and ringleaders have raised their heads in tumult." Mir Jumla had

declined the offer of governorship of Bengal on an earlier occasion, on the ground that his colleagues would be alienated from him and attribute selfish motives to his actions. But the Emperor felt that the administration of such an important province as Bengal could not be entrusted to anyone except Mir Jumla, reputed as a man of lofty integrity, impartial justice and as a cherisher of the subjects.

Mir Jumla's *mansab*, by addition to the original, was fixed at *haft hazar-i- haft hazar Suwar*, of which 3,000 *Suwar* were *seh aspa du aspa*. The *mahals*, conferred as *tankhwah* on previous governors,—the choicest and most fruitful *jagirs*,—were given separately as salary amounting to one *kreore* of *dams*. A good *Khil'at*, 10 fast horses, Iraqi and Arabi, the best of all the special horses of the Emperor, forming part of the presents offered by the Turkish Emperor of Constantinople to the Emperor (Shahjahan) in his 31st *Jalus* (year),—together with 40 Turkish horses and elephants of the imperial stables and female elephants were also given to Mir Jumla. Further, if he considered any *mahal* bad, he was authorised to inform the Emperor of it and get whichever *pargana* he desired. Besides, a belt, together with a special bejewelled sword, whose handle was made of agate, was given to Mir Jumla.³

Aurangzeb asked Mir Jumla to devote himself to the efficient administration of the province by pacifying the people, chastising the unruly, regulating the artillery, and especially the *nawwara* (flotilla), securing the safety of traffic on the roads and highways and issuing well-calculated regulations concerning various other matters. The Emperor wrote to him : "The hand of the strong over the weak, of the oppressor over the oppressed should be removed. And in all affairs you should not transgress the laws of the *shari'at* and limits of world-adorning justice. Your whole attention should be devoted to the well-being of all creatures of God and the peace of mind of foreign travellers and the inhabitants, and the safety of the boundaries. Act in such a way that all people can pursue their work of cultivation in an atmosphere of security from the persons whose profession is oppression."

Mir Jumla was also charged with the effective chastisement of the rather refractory *zamindars* of the province, and also

particularly the rulers of Assam and of the Maghs, who ill-treated and oppressed the Mussalmans. He was asked to consider their punishment as an urgent duty for safeguarding the interests of religion and brotherhood in Islam. Aurangzeb ordered many army leaders to stay in Bengal for one year and recalled others to the Imperial court. But if Mir Jumla considered those left in Bengal as unsuitable, he was to request the Emperor for necessary action.⁴

Fresh honours were bestowed on Mir Jumla for his victories over Shuja on the 44th birthday of Aurangzeb (15th July, 1660). The new Viceroy of Bengal received the titles of *Khan i Khanan* and *Sipahsalar* and was created commander of 7,000, his rank being increased by 2,000 were to be *du aspa seh aspa*. Of his personal followers, 2,000 were to be *du aspa seh aspa*, so that his *mansab*, from original and increase, become 7,000, of which 5,000 were *du aspa seh aspa*. A special *Khil'at*, and a gold-embellished sword were also given to him.⁵

2. Mir Jumla's administration in Bengal

Mir Jumla held the reins of the viceroyalty of Bengal for nearly three years (9th May, 1660—31st March, 1663). But he was in the province for barely a year and a half, being engaged in the campaigns in Kuch Bihar and Assam from November, 1661. Hence he could not effect substantial changes or improvements in the administration. The provincial government with its territorial structure e.g. *Sarkars*, *parganas* and the bureaucratic personnel in Bengal corresponded practically in all essential features with Akbar's reorganisation.^{5a} The distinction between the executive (*huzur*) and the revenue (*mal*) and the division of authority between the governor and the *diwan*, operative since the last decade of Akbar's reign was in full swing in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. The separation between the executive functions of the governor and the religious functions of the *Sadr* and *qazi* also still held good. But a strong man like Mir Jumla was sure to leave his impress on the administration even during the short period at his disposal.

Mir Jumla transferred the capital of Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca out of several considerations, foremost among which was the need of keeping the Arrkanese and the Portuguese pira-

tes in check.⁸

Three rajas refused to submit to Mir Jumla or to pay the arrears of tribute,—the Raja of Tippera, the *Mehtar* of Ghoraghat, and the Raja of Hajo. He proposed to send three expeditionary forces, under Rashid Khan to Hajo, Farhad Khan to Tippera, and Sujan Singh to Ghoraghat.^{8a}

In the domain of revenue administration the same old three-fold classification of land,—*Khalsa*, *jagir* or *zamindari* and *Sayurghal*,—continued. Todar Mal's rent roll continued under Shah Shuja till 1659, subject to some revision in 1658. While there was an increase in *Khalsa* revenue by 24 lakhs under Shuja (Rs. 87, 67, 015) as compared to the *Asl jama'* of Todar Mal (Rs. 63, 44, 260) there was no such increase in *jagir* revenue (Rs. 43, 48, 892). Thus the total rent roll of Shuja's time was Rs. 1, 31, 15, 907. This continued to be so in Aurangzeb's first *dastur ul 'amal* (i.e. in 1069 A.H. and 1065 Fasli), i.e. when Mir Jumla came as his first Governor of Bengal. But the actual collection (*hasil*) was only Rs. 86, 19, 247, a figure which was a little less than even the *Khalsa* revenue only of Shah Shuja. All this reflected the political turmoils of the period. Before Mir Jumla could effect any improvement in the revenue resources of the province, he had to leave it for undertaking the invasion of Kuch Bihar and Assam at the conclusion of which he died.

While at Dacca, however, the Governor collected the revenue from the peasants in the *Khalsa* lands with wisdom and moderation.^{8b}

On the other hand the condition in the *jagirs* of the *mansabdars* was far from satisfactory. As these were situated in different *parganas*, and there were many co-partners, the ryots there were subject to oppression, the method of collection of revenue was wasteful and the *parganas* became desolate.^{8c}

As regards *Sayurghal* lands, Mir Jumla confirmed in his own *jagirs* many virtuous *aimadars* and stipend-holders and some others who had received *farmans* from the Emperor. But there was just a possibility that after the retirement of a *jagirdar*, his grants might not be confirmed by his successor. The problem became acute on the Mir's death in such rent-free grants (*madad-i-maash*, *aima*, *Sayurghal*). The *Sadr Qazi Rizvi* (1660), who supervised such grants, cancelled the *madad-i-maash* and

pensions of all those who had not received imperial *farmans* in the crownlands and jagirs. Their lands were resumed by the state. The *aimadars* were enjoined to till the lands and pay revenue to it. The order fell very heavily on the *aimadars*, who did not cultivate the lands, and so there was no gain in revenue. They complained against the *Sadr* to Shaista Khan who remedied the situation.⁷

The *Zakat* (1/40th of the income) continued to be collected from merchants and travellers and custom (*hasil*) from artificers, tradesmen and *Khusnashin* (new comers or well-to-do men), Hindus or Muslims alike.^{7a} In many *parganas* the departments of the crownlands or the *jagirdar* or the *zamindar* used to seize the property and even the wife and daughters of any person, ryot or new-comer, dying without leaving any son.^{7b}

Mir Jumla administered speedy and stern justice (1660-62). In this respect he believed in the Akbaride tradition of direct access of his subjects without any hindrance. He used 'to sit on the bastion facing the river and permit all plaintiffs, high and low alike, who wore no arms, to come to him without hindrance and say their say.' When he was at Khizrpur near Narayanganj in Dacca, a servant of his, called a woman curd-seller to his house and consumed some curd without payment. She immediately lodged a complaint before the governor. On being summoned the servant denied the charge. But it was proved to the hilt when an emetic was administered and the offender vomitted his food with the curd. The governor had his belly slashed and the body publicly exposed as a warning to others. We are told: 'This act of justice struck such terror that no one durst rob even a straw.'⁸

Suspecting Mulla Mustafa, the Qazi of Dacca, to be a bribe-taker, and the Mir Adl to be a parasite, Mir Jumla expelled them from the town and personally administered justice in both religious and secular affairs. He unhesitatingly performed whatever appeared to be just to him. At the time of his advance towards Assam, he left instructions that the decision of any matter at the city according to the Quranic law might be referred to Shaik A'zam, but that the latter should not put his seal on any paper, and consider or name himself as a Qazi.^{8a} At the time of a man proving a loan or a claim against another, or of

the recovery of stolen property, the clerks of the police-stations used to collect for the State 1/40th of the amount as "a fee for exertion." The plaintiff and the defendant presenting themselves at the magistracy, were detained in prison till the disposal of their case, and the summons-servers used to take daily allowances from them and pay the amount to the State⁹.

Quite naturally Mir Jumla exercised almost unrestrained authority in Bengal administration as its Governor¹⁰. He also exercised some degree of control over Bihar and Orissa¹¹. As regards Bihar the facts are as follows: During 1660-61, Mirza Lutfullah Beg, Diwan of Patna, in order to monopolise the sale of saltpetre for the benefit of imperial revenues, forced the dealers, in spite of their contracts with the Dutch, to deliver their saltpetre to him. The Dutch Director at Hughli, Mattheus Van den Brouke complained to Mir Jumla and to the English, alleging that these actions were secretly instigated by Chamberlain, the English factor at Patna, and his broker, Gangaram, who had promised to purchase saltpetre from the Diwan. The English Agent, Trevisa, disclaimed these allegations and agreed with the Dutch Director not to deal with the Diwan, but to purchase directly from the dealers as before. Mir Jumla forbade Lutfullah by a *parwana* to hinder the Dutch¹².

As governor (*nazim*) Mir Jumla could have a deputy (*naib nazim*), through whom he could rule subordinate governorships. In the autumn of 1659 Mir Jumla, having established his authority in W. Bengal, had deputed Ihtisham Khan to assume charge of the governorless province of Orissa, then in a state of anarchy. Probably it was then that Mir Jumla, in accordance with an imperial *Sanad*, had attached the *tuyul* of Raja Nilkantha Dev of Orissa for failure to pay the demands of the *Khalsa*, and resumed to the state, the *madad-i-ma'ash* village of Jasra in *pargana* Kasijurah, enjoyed by Shaikh Abdul Khair of Qutbpur in *Sarkar* Goalpara. Even after the appointment of Khan i Dauran as Governor of Orissa, Mir Jumla, though Governor of Bengal, continued to have some connection with and hold over Orissa. A *dakchauki* was established from Orissa to Rajmahal, evidently before the Assam campaign, but the exact time for it is not definitely known. It was *via* Rajmahal that the revenues of Orissa were sent to the imperial court

along with those of Bengal¹³. Moreover, after Mir Jumla's death, the Balasore factors observed (28th April, 1663) that the Governors 'in these parts' on account of the 'long absence and distance' of the Nawab (Mir Jumla) had been 'so insolent and illimitable in their exactions that they had very much impaired the trade here'. They expected a remedy of it if the *Khan i Khanan* had lived. They added: "this great subject, *Khan i Khanan* being extinct, this country will be immediately under" Aurangzeb.¹⁴

Mir Jumla also helped Khan i Dauran in subduing Bahadur Khan, the rebel *zamindar* of Hijili. The latter had escaped from the prison into which Shuja had thrown him and reasserted his authority in his estate. European factory records state that Mir Jumla wanted to reconquer it, and demanded ships for the purpose from the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English. But this enterprise was stayed for some time after the appointment of Khan i Dauran as Governor of Orissa. Subsequently Mir Jumla induced the Emperor to transfer the district from the jurisdiction of Orissa to that of Bengal, requisitioned an English sloop and a Dutch galliot, and made preparations to subdue Bahadur. Thanks to the assistance of the Dutch, Hijili was conquered. Kamal Khan, brother of the rebel, was killed, and Bahadur, with his 11 companions, were taken to Dacca as prisoners (6th May, 1661).¹⁵

The King of Arrakan sent an envoy to Mir Jumla with a haughty letter, demanding the restoration of some of his territories, which had been occupied by the imperial troops. Mir Jumla dismissed him with a courteous reply and a small present. He also put pressure on the Dutch to send a ship to Arrakan in pursuit of Shuja.¹⁶ Fully alive to the gravity of the Magh menace to Bengal, Mir Jumla informed the Emperor that the non-residence of the previous governors at Khizrpur was due to the fear of the incursions of "the accursed Maghs". It was only at the end of the rains and during winter when the season for the coming of the pirates was over, that the Governor of Dacca used to go to Khizrpur with an army and encamp there.¹⁷ Mir Jumla made some plans for undertaking a campaign to subdue the Maghs, but as these required time to mature, he postponed the expedition till the conclusion of that against Kuch Bihar

and Assam¹⁸.

Before setting out on the expedition to Kuch Bihar and Assam, Mir Jumla made several administrative arrangements in Bengal. Mukhlis Khan continued as Governor of Rajmahal; Ihtisham Khan (after return from Orissa) was put in charge of the Bengal administration and remained at Khizrpur to guard Dacca. Rai Bhagwati Das, diwan of crownlands, and Khwaja Bhagwan Das Shujai were put in charge of the financial affairs of the imperial government (in Bengal) and of Mir Jumla's government respectively. Muhammad Muqim, "an expert, clever and hard working officer," serving at Dacca, was deputed to supervise the *nawwara*. Mir Ghazi was appointed paymaster and news-writer.¹⁹

While Mir Jumla was engaged in his Assam campaign, a severe famine visited Bengal and lasted for nearly two years. The price of grain rose up owing to the high rate of *Zakat* or compulsory alms, and virtual suspension of movements of merchants on account of internal insecurity, the grasping habit of the *chowkidars* and the oppression of *rahdars* (toll-collectors). The distress of the people became so acute that, in the words of Talish, "Life appeared to be cheaper than bread, and bread was not to be found." As this famine coincided with the famine and pestilence in the Mughal camp at Mathurapur in Assam, no relief could be sent from Bengal to the Mughal naval base at Lakhau. To relieve the consequent food shortage there, Mir Jumla ordered the despatch of rice prepared from 12,000 mds. of paddy seized near the Dihing river in Assam. Mir Jumla's successor, Daud Khan, remitted the *Zakat*, which relieved the distress of the starving people to some extent.²⁰

Mir Jumla could not deal effectively with certain administrative problems of Bengal, the solution of which had become overdue ever since the time of Shuja. Matters grew worse under the acting governors after the death of Mir Jumla and it was left to Shaista Khan to introduce the necessary reforms in the administration. The most important of all the unfinished tasks of Mir Jumla was the rebuilding of the Bengal flotilla (*nawwara*). During the lax regime of Shuja the parganas assigned for its maintenance, and yielding 14 lakhs of rupees a year, had become desolate on account of the extortion and violence of the rent

collectors. In his *farman* of appointment of Mir Jumla as the Governor of Bengal, Aurangzeb had asked the latter "to try his utmost" to regulate the flotilla, according to the laws of Ibrahim Khan. Hence, with a view to reorganising the navy, Mir Jumla abolished the old system of management; but before he could start a new one, he undertook the Assam campaign. Many naval officers and men died in the course of it and the flotilla was utterly ruined at the death of Mir Jumla. On the resignation of its admiral, Ibn Husain, Mahmud Beg was appointed its superintendent and asked to send a report after ascertaining the quality, the number and the true state of the Bengal flotilla. Its decline led to an aggravation of the menace of the Maghs and the Portuguese. Early in 1664 the cruising admiral (*Sardar-i-Sairab*), Munawwar Khan, unable to face them with "the relics of the *nawwara*, a few broken and rotten boats," fled in confusion. Hence Shaista Khan had virtually to create a new flotilla.²¹

3. Mir Jumla's commercial and economic activities in Bengal

The basis of Mir Jumla's economic system in Bengal, as well as in the Karnatak, was monopoly. As Governor of Bengal, he endeavoured to become the sole stockist of all articles of necessity and then sell them at fanciful prices. About 1660, Mir Jumla offered to supply the English factors every year as much saltpetre as they would require. In the opinion of the Madras factors he did so for his personal profit. About the same time the English factors at Patna were indebted to him for supply of 30,000 bags (6,000 mds.) of saltpetre.²²

An instance of an extraordinary levy of Mir Jumla in Bengal is given by a Dutch record of November, 1661. According to it Mir Jumla demanded Rs. 50,000 from the grain merchants of Dacca, as something like an excess profits tax of modern times, on the pretext that the latter had made a profit of twice the amount due to the continued presence of the Governor's large camp (on the eve of the Kuch Bihar and Assam Campaign). They paid Rs. 10,000, but the unsatisfied Governor adopted severely coercive measures, as a result of which they contri-

buted in all Rs. 25,000. A sum of three lakhs was offered by the city bankers, forwarded by such severity.²³

In 1658 the Governor of Hughli (Malik Beg) demanded from the English an annual payment of Rs. 3,000 in lieu of customs on the ground that the imprisonment (June, 1658) of Shah Jahan and assumption of power by Aurangzeb had made all imperial grants null and void. Next year the Governor of Balasore began to demand exorbitant charges for anchorage from them. The English factors declined to pay either, and a dispute thereupon arose between them and the government of Mir Jumla. In 1660-61, the English Agent at Hughli, exasperated at the Mir's "oppressions," audaciously seized one of his country vessels as a security for the recovery of debts. Highly incensed at this, Mir Jumla demanded reparation and threatened to destroy the out agencies, to seize the factory at Hughli and expel the English from the country. Advised by the Madras authorities, Agent Trevisa restored the boat and apologised to the Governor. But the latter continued to exact the annual payment of Rs. 3,000.²⁴

Every year Mir Jumla was in the habit of utilising the services of the English and their ships in sending his articles (viz. gumlack) to Persia without paying any freight or customs. The Madras factors advised their brethren at Gombroon that "in view of his power in Bengal, the Company's dues (on a parcel of gumlack) should be remitted." At the same time they held (May, 1662) that this not only went a long way to squaring Mir Jumla's claims (regarding the junk) but even made him indebted to the English.²⁵

By way of investing his capital and getting goods in return, Mir Jumla lent large sums of money amounting to one lakh of rupees and a quarter to Trevisa, the English Agent in Bengal. The latter utilised the money in securing goods for investment and persisted in such borrowing in spite of strong condemnation of it by the Surat authorities. The Madras authorities originally acquiesced in these practices but subsequently changed their attitude and regarded the transaction as a personal or private loan of Trevisa, lest the burden might fall on the Company. A part of the loan was not cleared before the death of Mir Jumla, and out of Rs. 9,700 still due, Rs. 5,672 had to be paid (by June, 1664) by the Kasimbazar factors during the viceroyalty of

Shaista Khan. By October, 1665, the troubles due to the dispute over these financial transactions were satisfactorily settled.²⁶

4. Mir Jumla's relations with the Europeans²⁷ (1660-63)

As Governor of Bengal, Mir Jumla continued his earlier policy of diluting firmness with opportunism in his dealings with the English. He used the junk incident as a lever for securing the English Company's help in his measures against the fugitive Shuja. The conference held at Masulipatam²⁸ to settle the claims of Mir Jumla regarding the junk satisfied neither the Surat authorities nor Mir Jumla. The demands made on his behalf exceeded 20,000 *pagodas* and included repudiation of his debts to the Company, amounting to 32,000 *pagodas*, a claim which the Surat authorities were not prepared to accept. About the middle of 1660 the dissatisfied Governor stopped the trade of the English at Kasimbazar and in the Bay. But at the same time he commanded Agent Trevisa to meet him at Dacca. Accordingly in August of the same year, the Agent went from Hughli to Dacca in a small vessel. About the end of August, the Surat President advised the Bengal factors to placate the Nawab with presents and with promises of restoring his junk and of helping him against Shuja. The mission of Trevisa succeeded well enough; 15,000 maunds of saltpetre procured from Patna, which had been so long frozen, were released for shipment in Bengal. Mir Jumla also pressed both the English and the Dutch to lend him vessels for the purpose of stopping Shuja's escape.

Reflecting Aurangzeb's anxiety about Shuja, Mir Jumla requested the Dutch Director Matheus Van den Broecke (27 October, 1660) to deliver the fugitive prince, then in Arrakan, to the Mughal government at Hughli, in case he sought their assistance to escape to Persia or Mocha on board a vessel of theirs. In return the Emperor would grant them greater privileges than the English in the empire.²⁹

For his military and other purposes, Mir Jumla used the services of the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese and their ships. In August, 1660, he employed in his service 6 or 7 English sailors of a small vessel carrying Trevisa, the English Agent, to

Dacca.³⁰ He also utilised the services of both the Dutch and the English for constructing his warships. A galliot built by the Dutch at Hughli and manned by 6 or 7 English runways under Mr. Dortson (Captain John Durson) reached Dacca about the end of May, 1661.³¹ Mir Jumla also employed another Englishman, Thomas Pratt by name, in building boats and making ammunition for river fighting.³² Certain Muscovites served in the Mughal army in Mir Jumla's Kuch Bihar and Assam campaigns.³³

The junk affair was not settled during Mir Jumla's life time, even though in 1661 the English factors promised to restore the vessel to his Masulipatam agent, Tappa Tap (Tabatabai). In 1662, on its way from Quedda to Mallacca it met with a fierce storm and was laid up at Mallacca, with no hope of recovery. For the sake of preserving the friendship with Mir Jumla, the Madras Council decided to exchange it for another vessel. At the same time they advised the Masulipatam factors to inform Alle Beague (Ali Beg), the successor of Tappa Tap, of the condition of the junk and to request him to intercede on their behalf for moderation of the claims. After the death of Mir Jumla, they hoped (December, 1663) that his son, Muhammad Amin, had forgotten all about the matter or that at least it was not to be considered again. Early in 1665 the Madras factors informed the Company that the question of any claim on account of the junk had not cropped up, that all the papers of the late Nawab had gone to Emperor Aurangzeb and that the letter of Trevisa, containing his agreement to give him satisfaction had probably been miscarried. All this, they felt, would mean the end of the affair.³⁴

5. Effects of Mir Jumla's death

"Mir Jumla's death", Bernier writes, "produced, as might be expected, a great sensation through the Indies." Bowery, too, observes that Mir Jumla died "to the great grief of all wise and Eminent persons in these kingdoms, not a little dolefull to the poore and the great losse these Kingdoms sustained is unmeasurable. They lost the best of Nabobs, the Kingdome of Acham, and by consequence, many large privileges"³⁵. The news of Mir Jumla's death reached Aurangzeb at Lahore on

23rd April. For sometime Ihtisham Khan continued to be in charge of the general administration in Bengal, and Rai Bhagawati Das of its revenue affairs. Mir Jumla's properties in Bengal and in the Deccan, originally escheated to the Mughal State, were restored to his son. Ordered by the Emperor, Ihtisham Khan proceeded to the Court together with the family members of the deceased, including his grandson, Mir 'Abdullah, his property and elephants, and the treasure of Bengal. Dilir Khan was commissioned to act as the Governor of Bengal till the arrival of Daud Khan from Bihar and the latter was to officiate as the Governor pending the arrival of the permanent Shaista Khan.³⁶

The removal, by death, of Mir Jumla's strong personality was followed by a general wave of laxity and disorder in the government of the province of Bengal. The selfish desires of men, so long kept in check by "the awe of the deceased Khan i Khanan" got an outlet. "Everyone began to beat the drum of arrogance". Officials and ambitious men began to give a free play to their selfish designs. The acting governor, Ihtisham Khan, became tyrannical. Dilir Khan, superior in prestige and rank to him, was dissatisfied, though he did not outwardly show his resentment. In the general atmosphere of prodigality and nepotism, each turned to his patron for some preferment or other. Displaced *zamindar* had their estates restored to them. Shihabuddin Talish applies the term "Days of Nature"³⁷ to this period, and observes: "Strange were the revolution and the disorder that had taken place after the death of Mir Jumla"³⁸.

The spirit of negligence manifested itself in military affairs too. The expedition for reconquest of Kuch Bihar was postponed after Mir Jumla's death. The repeated importunities of 'Askar Khan, appointed by Mir Jumla to undertake the task, to Daud Khan, acting viceroy of Bengal, for advice and aid went unheeded. So 'Askar Khan endeavoured to bring under control the *chakla* of Fatehpur, which before the advance of Mir Jumla, had belonged to the *zamindar* of that place³⁹.

The death of Mir Jumla, whose *parwana* had regulated the East India Company's affairs both in Bihar and Bengal, and protected the English traders against all claims for customs

naturally raised the question of the legality of their right to this exemption, as the *parwana* ceased to operate, and as the old *farman* of Shahjahan, on which they based their claim had not been confirmed by Aurangzeb. Freed from the wholesome restraint of Mir Jumla, officers in Bengal and Bihar began to demand customs from the English. Moreover, the late Nawab's grants to the East India Company at Fort St. George, too, were now left in a precarious condition owing to the uncertainty regarding his successor. The factors in Patna, Balasore and Madras emphasized on the Surat authorities the need of immediately having a copy of the Emperor's *farman*, as the Dutch had already taken one. The Bengal factors, disappointed at the delay of the Surat authorities, were obliged to be satisfied with securing from Diwan Rai Bhagwati Das an order that Mir Jumla's *parwana* should be regarded as being still in force.⁴⁰ Therefore the Europeans especially the English (in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) had sufficient reasons to express regret for his death.⁴¹

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. MA. 30 (date); AN. 483; Sir J. N. Sarkar says that the *farman* of appointment was issued in June, 1660. *Aurangzib*, III. 156.

2. FA. 48a-50a.

3. See AN. 483; *Poem*, 491-3; MA. 32.

4. The *Poem* (487-93) says that Mir Jumla was commissioned to send to Delhi those soldiers whom he did not require, so that they might be deputed to the Deccan.

5. AN. 563. Mir Jumla was given the title of *Yar-i-wafadar* or faithful friend (of the Empire) by Aurangzeb on his accession. FI. 2, 52. JBORS. I. 183. The assertion of the *Poem* (*op. cit.*,) that the titles of *Khan-i-Khanan*, and *sipahsalar* were given along with the *farman* cannot be accepted.

5a. E.g. *Nazim* (governor), *naib nazim* (deputy governor), *diwan*, *Sadr* (in charge of religion charity and grants), *Qazi* (judge), *Shiqdar* pargana head *Bakhshi* (paymaster), *Kotwal* (police superintendent), *Mirbahr* (admiral), *waqi'anavis sawaninigar* (reporter), *faujdar* (head of sarkar): 3 judicial officers were often combined

6. Reasons for transfer of capital, Ball's Tavernier, Bk I. Ch. VIII; Bowrey, 143.

- 6a. *Poem*, 496-501.
- 6b. Revenue System, *Fifth Report*, i. 242, 249; Habib, *Agr. Sys.* 412; Br. MUS.ms. NO. 6598 f. 132a, quoted in Anjali Chatterjee, *Bengal... Aurangzeb*, 72-73; Collection of revenue, *Poem*, 496f;
- 6c. *Cont.* 117a-119a (oppression).
7. *Ibid* (resumption); SAR. 165-7, 171-2. Bhattacharya, a descendant of Mukundaram Kavi Kankan, held an *alima* grant. Anjali Chatterjee, *op. cit.*
- 7a. *Cont.* 127b-129a (*Zakat*).
- 7b. This was called *Ankura* (hooking), *Cont.* 131b; SAR. 176. In 1667 Shaista Khan sent to Delhi 300 cartloads of silver and 50 of gold as revenues of Bengal, collected by Mir Jumla. *Storia*, II. 117 and n.
8. NBMQK. Tr. in Sarkar, *Bengal Nawabs*, p.2.
- 8a. *Cont.* 107a.
9. *Cont.* 131b; SAR. 176.
10. As early as May, 1659, the English factors observed: "What hee (Mir Jumla) saies (says) is a law." (EFI. X. 286) In April, 1660, they noted: "his (Mir Jumla's) power over all this new kings dominions being so greate that his word the Kinge obeyes" (*Ibid.*, 305). cf. Bowrey, 144-5.
11. Most probably it was this which led Bowrey (p. 139) to observe that the government of the three kingdoms, Orissa, Bengal and Patna, was conferred on Mir Jumla.
12. BDR. 1661, in EFI. XI. 69-71.
13. Deputation of Ihtisham, SAR. 224; MH. 143 (Nilkantha Dev), 78-80 (Shaikh Abul Khair), 49-53 and 141 (Orissa revenues), 110-114 (*dakchauki*).
14. EFI. XI. 288-9.
15. EFI. XI. 68-70; MH, 130 (campaign postponed), 133, 115-116 (capture of Bahadur with family). Khan-i-Dauran was appointed Governor of Orissa on 3rd April, 1660, and reached Medinipur on 26th September, SAR. 227.
16. EFI. XI. 69.
17. *Cont.* 107b, 108a; SAR. 187. Khizrpur was near Narainganj 8 m. s. w. of Dacca. JASB. XLIII. 211-12.
18. Chap. VII. post. These plans probably included (i) the construction of the forts at Idrakpur (mod. Munshiganj) on the Dhaleswari, at Fatulla on the Buri Ganga and a third on the other side of it, (ii) the strengthening of the forts at Khizrpur, Sonakanda and Hajiganj, (iii) and the construction of the road from Dacca to Khizrpur (via Fatulla, passing over the Pagla bridge). *Dacca Dt Gaz.* 30. 186, 189; ASR. XXIV, 93-94 and plates xxxi, (b), (c); Rennell, Shs. 1, 17; OAILPB. 82-83.
19. FI. 10; *Cont.* 122a, 137 (Muhammad Muqim); *Riyaz*, 220.
20. FI. 132-3 (Causes); 149 (despatch of rice); *Cont.* 110b-111a.
21. The flotilla accompanying Mir Jumla to Assam numbered at least 323. Many Ahom ships also formed part of Mir Jumla's Assam plunder (see Ch. VII). After his death, the number of the boats was not so large (600) as was claimed by Ibn Husain, nor so small (25), as was the contention of Daud Khan. *Cont.* 112a-b, 113a (decay of flotilla), 122a, 137a; SAR. 191, 194.

22. "The Nabob (Mier Jumlah) doth indeavour to ingrosse all commodities in Bengal (whereof wee hinted something to you two years agon)." Madras to Company (29th Jan. 1662). EFI, XI. 67. See *Cont.* 127a-SAR. 170-1.

23. BDR. Nov. 1661, referred to in AA. 292.

24. EFI. X. 391-2; Bruce, I. 560, 561; Stewart, 323; EAEB. I. 34-5.

25. EFI. XI. 57, 149 (25 tons of gumlack in 1661), 151. For junk episode see ante Ch. IV. Sec. E; Ch. V. Sec. F.

26. EFI. XI. 61 and n; Surat President's objections, *ibid.*, 61, 68, 153; attitude of Madras authorities, *ibid.*, 62, 149; amount not cleared (2nd April, 1663), *ibid.*, 269, 292; payment, *ibid.*, 287, 397; the amount of loan is stated to be Rs. 76,000 (p. 62), Rs. 1,00,000 (p. 149) and Rs. 1,25,000 (p. 183). For settlement, EFI. XII. 145, 135.

27. Further details have been given in my article, '*The last phase of Mir Jumla's Relations with the Europeans (1658-63)*,' JIH. XXIV. 35 ff.

28. *Ante*, Chap. V. Sec. F.

29. EFI. XI. 391-3; BDR (1661), pp. 240, 6, 43, in *Ibid.*, 410; HT. First Series, vol. XXIV.

In August, 1662, Mir Jumla's claim, according to the latest account amounted to £ 7,000 (*ibid.*, 162, 166-7).

30. BDR. 1661 (pp. 6, 43, 75 238, 387) in EFI. XI. 68-70; BDR. 1661 (p. 240) in EFI. X. 410.

31. Dutch records (7th March and 10th October, 1661) in EFI. XI. 70; for Durson, EFI. X. 193. An English galliot-builder of Dacca, Mr. Pitts (William Pitt) was not entertained by Mir Jumla (EFI. XI. 71 and n).

32. EFI. XI. 294, n, 393; *Storia*. II. 87, 102; (paid Rs. 500 a month) For Thomas Pratt, IA. 1906, p. 136; 1907, pp. 173-4. (Suspected by Daud Khan); EFI. XIII. 166-7.

33. Glanius. 167-8, 145-6.

34. Surat proposal to capture the junk for restoring it, EFI. X. 393; XI. 40-1, 148-9, 151 (Ali Beg), 400-1 (Claim not made). Question of Mir Jumla's boxes, EFI. XIII. 174, 299, 302-4, 309, 312-14, 317.

35. Bernier, 173; Bowrey, 144-5.

36. News, FI. 172; MA. 45; Aurangzeb's reaction, *Storia*, II. 102; Bernier, *op. cit.*; Bowrey, 144-5; escheat, EFI. XI. 273-4; Bernier, *op. cit.* *Storia*. II. 98-102; Official changes, FI. *op. cit.*, cont. 106a-107b, 108b, 109a. Mahmud Beg is stated to have been ordered to go to the imperial court with the dependents of Mir Jumla (*Cont.* 107b).

37. Cf. Hobbes' State of Nature.

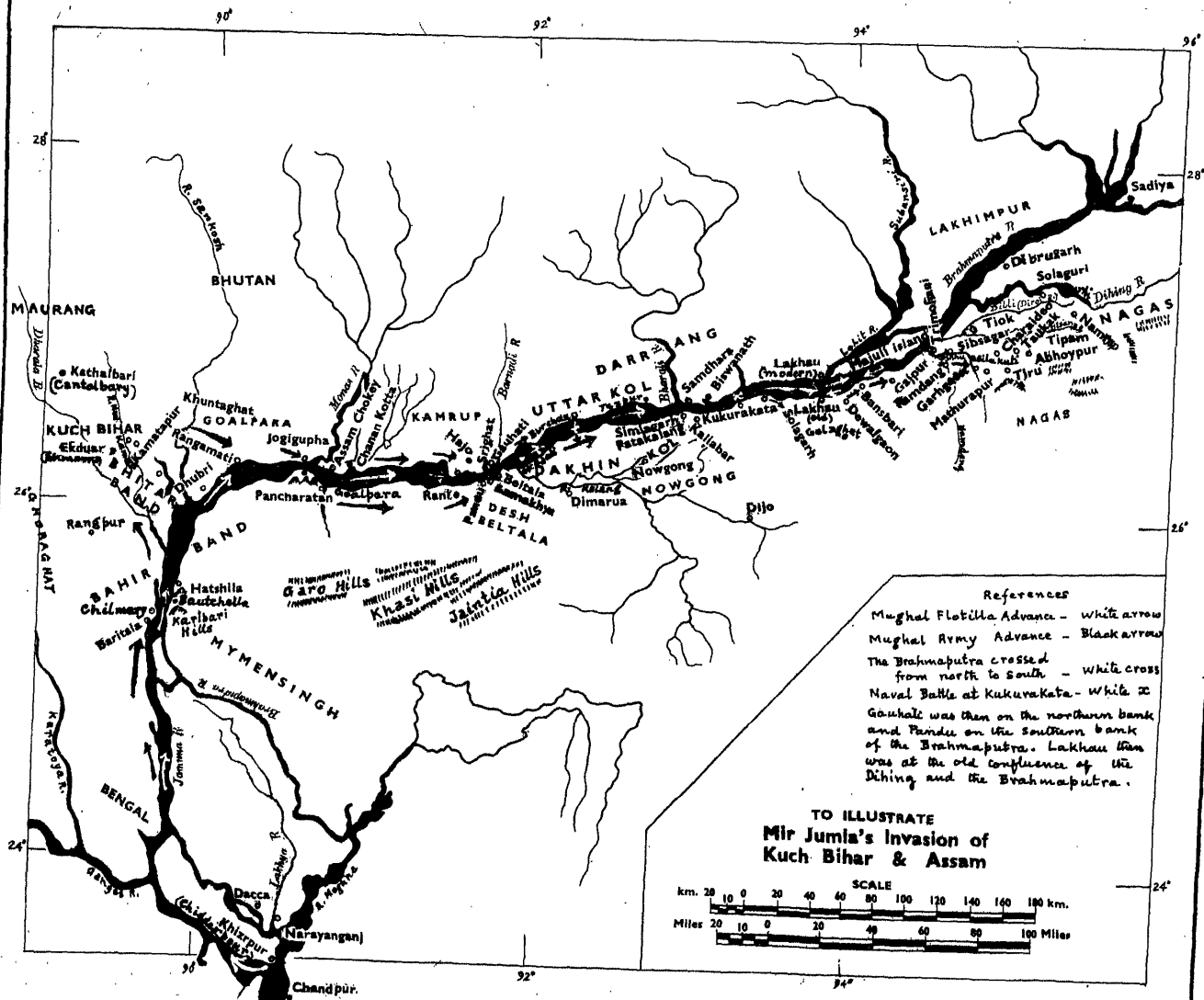
38. *Cont.* 106a, 109a-b.

39. *Ibid.* 110b.

40. For Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, EFI. XI. 185, 288-9, 373-5 (Payments for 1663); for Fort St. George, Bruce, II. 146-7; for order of the Diwan of Bengal, EFI. X. 416.

41. Bowrey, 144-5; Stewart, HB. 295.





CHAPTER 7

Invasion of Kuch Bihar and Assam

SECTION A

THE PRELUDE TO THE ASSAM CAMPAIGN THE CONQUEST OF KUCH BIHAR

1. Genesis of Mir Jumla's eastern campaigns

The conquest of Bengal from the hands of Shuja was quickly followed by the launching of a gigantic offensive by Mir Jumla in the north-eastern frontier of Mughal India. Contemporary European travellers have portrayed the expedition as a clever device on the part of the Emperor Aurangzeb to keep his successful minister-general, of whom he was afraid, usefully employed in the dreadful country of Assam, and also as the outcome of the inordinate personal ambition of Mir Jumla himself to carry his arms to Burma and the borders of China and thereby secure immortal fame.¹ The Assamese chronicles accuse the Mughal General of undertaking the expedition without securing the Emperor's prior sanction.² But the fact is that Aurangzeb, in his *farman*, appointing Mir Jumla Governor of Bengal (June, 1660), had commissioned him to conquer the Rajas of Assam and Arrakan after the settlement of the affairs

of Bengal. The primary task of Mir Jumla was, therefore, to capture the fugitive Prince Shuja in Arrakan. But it was Mir Jumla who secured the Emperor's permission to postpone the Arrakan campaign and to lead an expedition against Kuch Bihar and Assam.³

Indeed there were cogent reasons why Mir Jumla took that decision. As Governor of Bengal, he must chastise the contumacious rulers of Kuch Bihar and Assam in the interests of maintaining imperial prestige and securing safety of the imperial dominions. By the Mughal-Ahom treaty of 1639 Western Assam from Gauhati to the Manas (Manaha) river had passed under the Mughals. Their *faujdar*s ruled the *Sarkar* of Kamrup from Gauhati. The political turmoils consequent on the illness of Shahjahan in 1657, and the absence of Shuja from Bengal along with his entire army and flotilla, had placed the Mughal dominion of Kamrup, extending from the Monas to Gauhati and including Hajo, on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra between two fires (March-April, 1658). From the west came Bhavanath Karji,—the minister general of Pranaranayan, the Mughal vassal ruler of Kuch Bihar, who had assumed independence, oppressing the ryots and the Moslem women and encamping at Hajo. From the east came the Ahom frontier governor, Bargohain Tangchu Sandhikui, deputed by King Jayadhwaj Sinha, eager to regain his long-lost dominion up to the Karatoya river. Before this double offensive Mir Lutfulla the Mughal *faujdar* of Gauhati, escaped to Jahangirnagar without any resistance.^{3a} The governor occupied Pandu and Srighat, and rejecting the belated Koch proposal of an alliance against the Mughals, decisively defeated the Koches near Hajo, drove the Koch general Bhavanath beyond the Monas, and, advancing unopposed beyond Baritala, established a military outpost in Hatshila or Hatichola (near Karibari or Karaibari, only 5 stages from Dacca), refused to allow the Mughals to resort to the local market, and, sweeping Mughal Mamrup with the "broom of plunder", brought many Mughal captives to Assam, and settled them there.⁴

Apart from these immediate events, the previous activities of the Ahoms like the capture of Sayyid Abu Bakr and 'Abdus Salam in the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan respectively, had

gone unpunished. The accession of Aurangzeb and the appointment of Mir Jumla as the Governor of Bengal meant that quick retribution was inevitable. Mir Jumla was actuated not only by imperialistic designs, but,—as his trusted *Waqi 'a-navis* tells us—also by a desire for “a holy war with the infidels of Assam,” and “an ardent passion for releasing Mussalmans (prisoners of war), rooting out idolators, lifting up the banner of Islam and destruction of the customs of unbelief and error.”⁵

2. Mir Jumla's War Preparations

Hearing of Aurangzeb's victory and of the war preparations at Dacca, both the offending Koch and Ahom kings longed for peace. The Ahom king Jayadhwaj pleaded that he had seized Kamrup to guard it from the Koches and offered to restore it to the Mughals. So Mir Jumla, anxious to invade Arrakan after the end of the rains, deputed Rashid Khan with an army in 1661 to take delivery of Kamrup from the Ahoms. But he was not inclined to forgive disloyalty on the part of a vassal, Pran Narayan of Kuch Bihar, and sent another army under Raja Sujan Singh, subsequently re-inforced by Mirza Beg Shujai, to chastise the Koch ruler. The latter's envoy, who had come to pray for pardon of the Raja, was imprisoned and the letter of a Mughal noble he had brought with him was not even read by the inexorable General.⁶

But these overtures of peace were only a clever ruse on the part of the Rajas of Assam and Kuch Bihar to gain time for completion of preparations. Rashid Khan had to halt at Rangamati before advancing further against the well-equipped Ahoms, while Raja Sujan Singh could not advance against the Koches beyond Ekduar, commanding the entrance to Kuch Bihar (May-June, 1661), when the advent of the rainy season suspended all activity.⁷

Resolving to conduct the war in person, and to take the field first against Kuch Bihar, and then, if necessary, against Assam, Mir Jumla made several administrative arrangements in Bengal before setting out on the expedition.⁸

On the night of 1st November, 1661, Mir Jumla and Dilir Khan started from Khizrpur with a powerful army of 12,000

horse, and 30,000 foot, together with a vast flotilla of war-boats numbering at least 323. The most powerful of them were the *ghurabs* or floating batteries in charge of the Dutch, each towed by 4 *Kusas* (long row-boats) and carrying 14 guns and a crew of 50 or 60 men. Besides the Portuguese (and *Mesticos* half breeds), the highest naval officers, there were some English and Dutch sailors too.⁹ Mir Jumla had a very good opinion of the European fighters, especially the Portuguese, and the Dutch gunners and also of the Armenian horsemen. There were again several "Muscovites, all extraordinarily well-mounted." The Dutch were conscripted, but the English and the Portuguese were volunteers.¹⁰

3. Mir Jumla conquers Kuch Bihar

Arriving at Baritala, an imperial outpost on the frontier of Kuch Bihar, Mir Jumla selected neither of the two well-known routes from Mughal territories to that country; the one *via* Ekduar was closely guarded by the Raja, as that place was the sole fortified post between the invaders and Kuch Bihar; the other *via* Khuntaghat, passing near Rangamati, was very narrow, intersected by *nalas* and flanked on both sides with dense jungles. With his characteristic prudence he selected for his advance an obscure way, left unguarded by the Raja, and running along an *al* or embankment much lower than other roads,—news of which was brought by his scouts. The fleet guarded the *nala* flowing from Ghoraghat to the Brahmaputra.

On the news of the approach of the imperial general together with Sujan Singh near the *al* or embankment, the boundary of Kuch Bihar, the Koch sentinels fled away (13th December, 1661). Next day Mir Jumla reached the *al* and had to cut his way through jungles. Riding a pony, he supervised the construction of the road and shared the sufferings with the meanest soldier. At a place three stages from the capital, he learnt that the Raja had fled to Kathalbari at the foot of the hills of Bhutan and the minister to Maurang. Crossing the jungles, and fording a river, Mir Jumla entered the capital unopposed on 19th December.¹¹

4. Mir Jumla's administration of Kuch Bihar

Mir Jumla annexed Kuch Bihar to the Mughal Empire. His administration was vigorous but conciliatory. At his bidding the *azan* or call to prayer was chanted from the terrace of the royal palace by Sadr Mir Muhammad Sadiq. To remove the chances of rebellion in future, the fortified gateway of Ekduar was demolished, the jungle within a radius of 100 yards of it was cut down, and an open plain formed. All captured war materials, were confiscated to the imperial government; 106 pieces of cannon, 140 *Zamburaks*, 11 *Ramchanigs*, 123 muskets and other articles of the arsenal were sent to Dacca, while some goods of the Raja were reviewed by Muhammad Abid, the escheat officer. The name of Kuch Bihar was changed to 'Alamgirnagar. Till the arrival of 'Askar Khan, appointed permanent *faujdar* by the Emperor at the General's suggestion, Isfandiyar Beg (now styled Khan), son of Allah Yar Khan, officiated as *faujdar* of the country, and was assisted by Qazi Samui Shujai as *diwan* and Mir 'Abdur Razzaq and Khwajah Kishor Das *mansabdar* as *amins*.

If Mir Jumla exhibited firmness in the settlement of the country, he showed wisdom and moderation in dealing with the ryots, and protected them from plunder at the hands of marauding soldiers. Even before reaching the capital, he had issued a proclamation forbidding plunder of household furniture and other property of the ryots, present or absent, and inflicted severe penalties on the first offenders. A few soldiers, who had stolen a goat or a cow, or some plantains from the houses of fugitive ryots, were paraded round the town and the camp, with their noses pierced with arrows and the stolen articles suspended from their necks. This deterred other miscreants, and encouraged the people to return to their homes and cultivation.¹² A Mughal mint was established at 'Alamgirnagar and one coin of Aurangzeb issued from this mint, was described by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji as "the only Mughal coin in which the legend is written in Bengali characters, although the language is Persian or rather Arabic."¹³ It may be regarded as an instance of Mir Jumla's policy of following, as much as possible, the line of least modification of local traditions.

The Raja's son joined the Mughals, embraced Islam and even offered to arrest his father. His Wazir, Bhavanath, was surrounded from two sides by Isfandiyar and Farhad Khan, and ultimately arrested by Reza Quli Beg Abakish, and imprisoned. But Mir Jumla failed to capture the Raja, who had withdrawn from Kathalbari at the foot of the Bhutan hills to their summit. The pursuers returned only with one elephant, a few horses and draught bullocks and their Bhutia keeper. The Nawab confiscated the animals to the imperial government but spared the life of the supplicating Bhutia, gave him some cash and sent him with a written order to Dharmaraja, the 120 year old ascetic ruler of Bhutan, asking him to deliver the fugitive Raja of Kuch Bihar or at least expel him. But the Raja of Bhutan nobly refused to drive away his "unbidden guest." Mir Jumla, having no time to lose, could not chastise the Raja of Bhutan and proceeded to Assam (4th January, 1662) after a sixteen days' stay in Kuch Bihar.¹⁴

During the rainy season of 1662, the Raja of Kuch Bihar came down from the hills, recovered his country, by taking advantage of popular resentment at the introduction of the Mughal land revenue administrative methods. He killed Muhammad Salih, the opposing *mansabdar* at Kathalbari, and prevented the coming of provisions to the followers of Isfandiyar Khan, who fled to Ghoraghat. 'Askar Khan reached there, but was unable to recover the country.'¹⁵

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Both the unnamed Dutch sailor (Glanius, 176-82), and Bernier (169-171) state that after defeating Shuja, the old General solicited the Emperor's permission to retire from active life, and keep his family by his side in Bengal, but that the Emperor, suspecting that Mir Jumla wanted to establish his independent power, appointed his son Muhammad Amin Mir Bakhshi, though he sent his wife, daughter and son's children to the Mir, so as not to displease such a powerful man. But Talish's statement. (FI. 26) and also that of Aqil Khan (ZNA. 108), that Mir Jumla hoped to lead another campaign next year, enable us to reject the view that he was incapable of leading military campaigns. Moreover, the story of retirement ill

fits with the attribution of soaring ambition to Mir Jumla. See also *Storia*, II. 98 : Acc. to Tavernier (Ball. II. 277) Mir Jumla wanted to perpetuate his influence by retaining his generalship. cf. Thevenot's view (Ch. 8. p. 102) that Mir Jumla had the ambition of becoming king of Bengal. Bowrey (143-4) also states that after the conquest of Assam, Mir Jumla next "proposed to adventure both life and fortune against S. Tartaria."

2. P.B. (IsC. 1928, p. 332n, 343); JIH, V. 374-6.

3. FI. 25-26; For *farman*, see ch. VI. Sec. 1. A Dutch letter of 10th October, 1661, refers to a report that Mir Jumla had been ordered to invade Cooch Bihar (EFI. XI. 70); PAB. 119.

3a. Gauhati was placed under Chengmun Rajshahur Barpukhan and Pikchai Chetia.

4. FI. 6-8; AN. 676-9; BKK. I. 653-65 (market); SMAB. 89-91, xxi; B. VIII. 82-85; B. MsA. 195. 197; PB. IsC. 332 and n); KB. ch. 7; AB. 14-18; PAB. 115-117.

The treaty between Allah Yar Khan and Momai-tamuli Barbarua in 1639 fixed the Western boundries of Assam at R. Barnadi (joining the Brahmaputra on the north) and at Asurar Ali (a road east of Gauhati).

The Koch offer of alliance against the Mughals and partition of Kamrup is mentioned in SMAB. 90; BKK. 656-7.

The Ahom army was now commanded by the Baduli Phukan, Lapeti Phukan and Phulbarua Phukan. *Atan*, 23; *Lachit*, 190.

5. FI. 7-8 (retribution), 18-19 (holy war).

6. FI. 8-9; B. VIII. 88; AB. 18-19.

7. FI. 9; BKK. 665.

Ekduar was a fortified gateway made of lime and brick, with a spacious and high top, full of tall and stout trees and wide and deep pits. Probably Ekduar is to be identified with Ekmoock 26° 16' N, 100° 23' E) 6 m. s.w. of Cooch Bihar (Survey of India Map, Cooch Bihar, 78F).

8. FI. 10; *Vide, ante*, Ch. 6.

9. FI. 11; AN. 694 (from Khizrpur), 696; Glanius, 144-47, 167; *Storia*, II. 98; FI. 3, 89 (10 or 12 thousand horse), BKK. 668 (30,000 foot); Gati, 127n, 128. Exaggerated figures of Cavalry in Ahom Sources : BKK. 668 (40,000); SMAB. 91 (60,000); also in *Storia, op. cit.* (40,000); Glanius, 145 (3,00,000 horses, 5,00,000 foot).

The Mughal fleet comprised 323 ships when it reached Lakhau (9th March, 1662) after the naval battle above Kaliabar : 159 *Kosas*, 48 *Jalbas*, 10 *ghurabs*, 7 *parindals*, 4 *bajras*, 50 *pattelas*, 2 *salbs*, 1 *palil*, 1 *bhar*, 2 *balams*, 10 *khatgiris*, 5 *mahallgiris*, 24 *pahvars* and other small ships : total 323, (FI. 43; JASB. 1872, p. 73). Some boats carried provisions and munitions, while the barges bore the ladies of the *harem*. (Glanius, 144). Mir Jumla asked two Dutch carpenters to construct a stately vessel from his own model (*Ibid.*, 148-9, 183) The English sailors probably included Captain John Durson (Mr. Dortson) and his companions, EFI. XI. 70n; X. 193.

10. Glanius, 167-8 (Armenians), 145-146 (Muscovites), 148

One author equates the Muscovites with Turks. BPP. 1925. p. 14n. But there is ample evidence of Russian contact with India in 17th Century (*Hindustan Standard*, Puja Number, 1945, 237-9. It might be that a Russian contingent accompanied Mir Jumla.

11. FI. 10-12 (Route from Maurung); JASB. 1872, 65 and n; Glanius, 147. Khuntoghat, n.w. of Jogigupha, in Gauripur estate, *Goalpara Dt. Gaz.* 117.

Baritala is near Chilmari near the right bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite Hatsilah in Karibari *pargana*. Probably the *nala* running through Ghoraghat is to be identified with the Dharali, and the river on way to the capital with the Neelcoomer. Kathalbari is Cantalbary of Rennell, Sh. 5.

Chronology : Raja Sujan Singh joins Mir Jumla (12th December) ; Mir Jumla reaches the foot of the *al* (13th December), and the *al* (14th December); encamps on the environs of the capital (18th December), enters it (19th December).

12. FI. 12 (azan), 16 (occupation), 18 (officers), 15 (ryots); AN. 694; MA. 40.

13. JASB (1920), 85-86; Pl. xiii, no. 8; ML. II. 153; E & D. VII. 265.

14. FI. 15-16 ; AN. 688 (Raja's son Bishnu Naryan). But see MNEFP, 306-7n.

15. FI. 80-81.

SECTION B

Triumphal March into Assam

(A) RECOVERY OF MUGHAL KAMRUP

1. Mir Jumla sets out against the Ahoms

On the approach of Rashid Khan in 1661, the Ahoms abandoned Hatishala and Dhubri and retreated beyond the Monas river. Rashid recovered the western end of Mughal Kamrup up to Rangamati¹ from the Ahoms, but suspecting a snare, halted there for reinforcements from Mir Jumla before advancing further. In fact, the Ahom King had caused the two Phukans (Dihingia and Lahui Phukans), responsible for the retreat, to be arrested and imprisoned, and had appointed Manthir Bharali Barua, a Hindu Kayastha store-keeper of Bejdoloi family, commander of the Lower Assam army.² Jogigupha had been strengthened at the mouth of the Monas and a new fort constructed at Pancharatan (by the Ahom Captains Ahataguria Lahan Phukan and Kandukhamon), on the opposite bank of the Brahmaputra. The Ahom chiefs in Kamrup now sent an envoy to Rashid Khan, insolently enquiring of the reason of Mughal advance, and the messenger was sent by the Khan to Mir Jumla at Dacca. Nevertheless Mir Jumla expressed his willingness to desist from invading Assam if the Raja restored the whole of Mughal Kamrup together with the captured materials, sent his daughter with a suitable tribute and promised not

to attack imperial territories in future. But when Jayanarain of Ghila Bijoypur deserted the king of Assam to escape from punishment for his failure to redeem some boastful promises, and joined Mir Jumla, the latter considered the situation favourable for invasion, and suggested to the Emperor postponement of the Arrakan campaign to next year after the conquest of Kuch Bihar and of Assam. He wrote to Aurangzeb : "Assam has occupied Kamrup, and is contemplating to invade us. My scheme of subduing the country of the Maghs cannot be completed within a short time. So in the meantime I propose to invade Cooch Bihar and Assam: I am waiting the orders of the Emperor." Aurangzeb ratified his General's plan. As for the Assam King, he advised the Phukans not to surrender Kamrup, as it had been acquired from the Koches and not from the Mughals. They did not care to send any reply to Mir Jumla's proposed terms even after his conquest of Kuch Bihar³.

2. Mir Jumla's initial difficulties

Mir Jumla continued his difficult march from Kuch Bihar towards Assam (4th January, 1662) through the jungly route *via* Khuntaghat and joined Rashid Khan's army at Rangamati. The *nawwara* proceeded up the Brahmaputra therefrom, co-operating with the land force, each arm giving cover to the other. The hardships of his journey were augmented by his lack of local topographical knowledge. But his strong determination helped him to overcome the difficulties presented by Nature and man. Despairing of getting correct information and guidance from the local *zamindars*, the General very wisely decided to follow the course of the Brahmaputra and utilise the fleet. Hence he ordered Dilir Khan, the commander of his Van, and Mir Murtaza, *darogha* of the imperial artillery, to follow the river bank and to cut a way forward through the jungles. The exertions of that old and resolute Nawab, whom Talish describes as the "Chief of Men" were so strenuous, that his work of supervision extending from sunrise to sunset, was suspended only during prayers. The road was duly constructed in spite of enormous impediments. The thick and strong *khagra* reeds were crushed by footmen and elephants, the pools and marshes were

filled up with reeds and grasses, and most of the *nalas* were made fordable for the men and the beasts of burden.

The unspeakable hardships which all members of the expeditionary force had to suffer, and which the General shared with the humblest soldier, have been graphically delineated by Talish. The jungle-clearers collapsed while taking rest after hard labour; men paid the penalty of careless steps by stumbling to death; the barbed head of the broken *khagra* reed pierced the foot of men; horsemen were hurled down to death by the silent but sharp and strong stroke of the bamboo; musketeers and foot-archers alike became fatigued, ill or infirm; the undulating intricacies of the ground took a heavy toll, while mud paralysed riders as well as pedestrians. In one whole day not more than one narrow lane could be constructed because of these hardships and in the crowd and pressure of advance, men and animals jostling together and pushing and knocking each other, many died of attacks by bewildered and infuriated animals, "the hockey stick of the tusk" of an elephant, "the whiff of the kick" of a horse, the push of a camel, and the horns and the legs of a bull, all served to throw persons under "the revolving wheel of the mill of death".

These difficulties, caused by the dense jungles and numerous *nalas*, as well as the tardy advance of the imperial fleet from Rangamati made Mir Jumla's progress slow. His daily march did not exceed 4 or 5 miles⁴.

3. Mir Jumla's advance up to Gauhati

On 17th January Mir Jumla halted 5 miles west of Jogigupha, a spacious and high fort, situated near the junction of the Monas and the Brahmaputra. A wall built on the summit of a hill adjoining the latter river blocked the path of the invader from the west. In accordance with their usual custom of strengthening their mud forts, the Ahoms (under Baduli Phukan) defended the western environs of this fort with *phanjis* or sharp bamboo stakes fixed on the ground as well as inside the numerous pits. The north of the fort was protected by pits, hills and jungles. The defending garrison having been depleted by the outbreak of cholera, the Ahom Dangarias decided to eva-

cuate the fort, and Mir Jumla captured it without fight (20th January).

Crossing the deep and violent river Monas, Mir Jumla divided the land force into two sections : he himself with the main army proceeded along the northern bank of the Brahmaputra; Sayyid Nasiruddin Khan marched along the southern bank with a contingent, while the fleet kept pace with the land forces.

This three-pronged advance of Mir Jumla was eminently successful. Learning of the loss of Jogigupha, the Ahom king hastily sent reinforcements to Srighat (Saraighat, held by Rajshahur, the father-in law of the Raja), so as "to make a combined attack on the enemies". This fort was more elevated and spacious than that of Jogigupha and was protected by big *phanjis*, pits and palisades of strong timber. But Mir Jumla, occupying the "chowki of Khatta" with two forts,⁵ arrived at Srighat (Saraighat) before the Ahom reinforcements. Then, by-passing it, he encamped at the environs of Gauhati (Shahburj) on 4th February, and deputed Rashid Khan to encircle Srighat by a northern whirling movement. The panic-stricken Ahom army escaped it only by a hurried night flight up the river to Kajli. Next day (5th February) Mir Jumla had the palisades of Srighat demolished with the help of some elephants under the direction of Haji Muhammad Baqr Ispahani. Next Mir Jumla moved two miles, and recovered Gauhati, the capital of Mughal Kamrup, which then stood on the north bank of the Brahmaputra.

The imperial forces south of the river wrested the fort of Pancharatan from the Ahoms (under Phulbarua), who, losing their "first battle" with the Mughals, retired to Samdhara. The Mughals also captured the fort of Pandu, opposite Srighat and equal to it in strength, without fight. Many retreating Ahoms were slain by Yadgar Khan Uzbek. A fort at Beltala east of Pandu, fell during a night attack and its garrison was slain. The fort of Kajli, at the mouth of the Kallang, 14 miles east of Pandu, and not inferior to it or Srighat in strength, was deserted by the Ahoms, who retreated to Kathalbari, leaving a few *Zamburaks*, muskets and powder to fall to the invaders.⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Rangamati, west of the Monas R. *Ind. Atlas*, Sh. 124.
2. The BKK. (665-66) states that the Baduli Phukan was made Neog Phukan. This seems unlikely in view of his subsequent appointment as such (FI. 91-92). Moreover, the SMAB (93) clearly states the circumstances of the appointment of Manthir Bharali Barua. He was given the rank of Parvatia Phukan.
3. FI. 25-26; BKK. 665-67; SMAB. 91-93, xxi, xxii; B VIII. 87-8; Gait, 126-27; Riyaz, 224-5. For Jaynarain, SMAB. 90-91; B VIII. 85-87 : AB. 17; PAB. 117-118.
For Mir Jumla's letter to Emperor. SMAB. 91; IHQ. V. 470, 474; IsC. 1928, p. 343.
4. FI. 18-21; MU. III. 547; MA 40 (date wrong); AN. 694-95. For the route from Rangamati to Jogigupha, see Rennell, Sh. 17.
5. MU. III. 547; Assam Chokey and Chanankotta of Rennell. Sh. 5.
6. FI. 21-24; BKK. 666-670 (naval advance, 667; some resistance at Jogigupha); SMAB. 93-94; B. VIII. 89 : AB. 19 AN. 696-702; PAB. 121; the unnamed Dutch sailor (Glanus, 147-58), Bernier (172), Manucci (*Storia*. II. 98) all speak of Mir Jumla's easy conquest of Azo or Hajo, a small fortress in the Kamrup dt. of Assam.

(B) FROM GAUHATI TO GARHGAON

1. Mir Jumla enters Assam proper

The victorious General waited for two days at Gauhati. But receiving no reply to his terms from the Ahoms even there, he invaded Assam (7th February). For protection against their dangerous stratagems and night attacks, he ordered all men to be on the alert and all guards to keep watch at night, armed and with their horses saddled. Mir Murtaza remained vigilant with guns. Communications were safeguarded by setting up *thanas* on the way. As Garhgaon, the Ahom capital, was situated on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. Mir Jumla crossed it (15th and 16th February) with the whole army at a place half way between Gauhati and Samdhara.¹ Ignoring an evasive reply from the Ahom king at this stage, Mir Jumla moved towards Simlagarh. He had already (after the fall of Kajli) received the submission of the Raja of Darrang, on the north bank of the river and now the Raja of Dimarua on its south sent his nephew to wait upon him and sided with the imperialists.²

2. Simlagarh and Samdhara

The only strongholds that now lay in Mir Jumla's path to the Ahom capital were Samdhara on the Bhomoraguri hill, at the mouth of the Bharali river and east of Tejpur, and Simlagarh opposite to it on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. The Raja decided to fortify these two places and strenuously endeavoured to arrest the further progress of the victorious general at Samdhara, which held the key to his dominions. He replaced his old commanders by new ones, and divided his army into two sections. Atan Buragohain was appointed a divisional commander of the forces on both sides of the Brahmaputra. The northern

army, guarding Samdhara, was placed under General Ghora Kobrak, assisted by Baduli Phukan, Barukial (or Langichang) Bargohain, Kenduguria Barpatra (Gohain); the southern army, stationed at Simlagarh under General Bahgaria Buragohain, assisted by Sairingia Raja, Bhitaraual Gohain, Barchetia Nam-niyal Rajshahur Barphukan³.

Occupying a highly strategic position between the Brahmaputra and the southern hills, the strong, spacious and sky-high fort of Simlagarh was protected on two sides by high walls with battlements, mounted with cannon. A ditch and the pits with bamboo spikes (*phanjis*) made access to the fort difficult. Its defenders, "as numerous as ants and locusts" had kept the materials of defence in a perfect manner. Indeed it was made impregnable both by nature and man.

On 20th February Mir Jumla encamped on the bank of a *nala* flowing westward from the south of the fort. He was hailed by heavy artillery fire by the defenders. A *zamburak* ball from it passed over his tent. Since storming the fort would have taken a heavy toll on life, he decided on a siege. At his command the nobles kept guard at night under the able superintendence of Mahmud Beg, imperial Bakhshi. Cannon were mounted on entrenchments thrown up within gunshot by Dilir Khan and Mir Murtaza, leading the Van, but they produced no impression on the thick walls of the fort. Dilir Khan, with a few men of Mir Jumla, carried their stockades by way of a safe lane, close to the fort walls under heavy fire "from morn to eve, and dusk to dawn", and repulsed, with difficulty, a night sally on those barriers.

The prolonged siege of the fort obliged Mir Jumla to revise his strategy. He now planned to encircle it and attack it simultaneously from two sides. Farhad Khan reconnoitred its rear and selected its southern side, where the jungles were sparse, as the place of assault. Taking the son of an Assamese Chief, who offered to lead the Mughals to the place, "where the height of the wall, the width and depth of the holes, full of bamboo stakes were the least," Dilir Khan, together with the artillery, and 1,500 Nawab's horsemen, set out on the midnight of 25th February, to deliver the final assault on the unwary Ahoms at dawn. Leaving a detachment under Mir Murtaza and Miana

Khan to fire at the centre of the wall and break open the gate,—so as to divert the attention of the defenders from the real place of assault,—Dilir himself advanced, but was betrayed by the guide and led to a spot, where “water, morass, pits and assembly of the wretches (Ahoms) were greater than elsewhere.” Undaunted by the sharp hail of arrows and heavy artillery fire, during which the false guide was fatally hit, Dilir Khan, whose elephant received 25 arrow-shots, most gallantly forced his way, and after a stubborn contest, scaled the wall. Mahmud Beg Bakhshi went to pursue the Ahoms who fled into the jungle along a path towards the southern *nala*, slew some and captured a few others. Mir Jumla entered the fort the next day (26th February), and expressed wonder at the strength of its fortifications.⁴ Assamese sources attribute the rout of the defenders to shortage of provisions and of man-power, caused by an error of judgment in supplying these, committed by the commander of the northern army, Langichang Bargohain.

The storming of Simlagarh so unnerved the defenders of Samdhara that they regarded it as an ominous calamity and evacuated that almost impregnable fort without even waiting to be attacked. The Burhagohain retreated to the capital, evidently for consulting the King.⁵

3. Mughal naval victory above Kaliabar

Leading the Mughal army eastward of Tezpur for the first time in history, the Mir easily occupied Kaliabar,⁶ and left it on 2nd March. The bank of the river being hilly, the army followed a more level route, 6 miles away. The Ahoms, having felt the irresistible power of the combined land and naval forces of the Mughals, planned to destroy the land army by cutting off its supplies. So, taking advantage of the isolation of the Mughal fleet, and of the accidental absence of its admiral, Ibn Husain, they schemed to crush it. An armada of 700 or 800 ships (under the Bargohain) suddenly swooped down on 100 imperial boats, anchoring near Kukurakata, after the evening prayer on 3rd March. The Ahoms also surprised the Dutch ships of the fleet, and their crew, then at table, had “a dish of meat carried away by a cannon bullet.” The Portuguese vessels were saved from

the imminent danger of being "swallowed up", only by the force of the current, which carried the Ahom fleet far down the stream. The imperial crew under Munawwar Khan heroically held their own in that unequal contest till the arrival of reinforcements at two *prahars* of night, which enabled him to send immediate succour to the distressed Dutchmen. Even at day-break, "the whole fleet, of which the Dutch and the Portuguese led the Van, were in good order", and advanced against the Ahoms, as fast as the wind permitted. But owing to contrary currents, the Dutch had to be towed by "Moors," who got down to the shore.

In the meantime, Mir Jumla, on hearing of the night-long cannonade, had deputed Muhammad Mumin Beg Ekkataz Khan to relieve the hard-pressed fleet, especially the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese ships, wrongly reported by a Moorish informer to have been lost. "Owing to the absence of habitations, want of firm ground, abundance of jungles and heaps of mud", Muhammad Mumin could not arrive near the fleet during the night. He did so early next morning, along with 10 or 12 horsemen and ordered the trumpets to be blown.

This decided the fate of this stubborn contest. The Mughals were now encouraged to press on, while the disheartened Ahoms took to their heels, some on boats, others on land. The Mughals captured, besides powder and lead, 300 or 400 ships, each containing "big guns". As the smallest ship carried 70 men, at least 21,000 men were made prisoners of war. Many were slain by the pursuing columns, who had instructions not to give any quarter; and the 50 Ahoms who escaped were condemned by the Raja to suffer most severe punishment. The Ahom admiral, taken prisoner in spite of his disguise, was released at the intercession of some of the chief officers of Mir Jumla. The remaining 300 Ahom vessels anchored about a mile distant from the camp of Mir Jumla, who next day sank most of them with artillery fire. The rest fled to the other bank and some were captured. Effectiveness of the Assamese navy was completely destroyed.⁷

In the naval battle above Kaliabar, the Ahoms had overwhelming superiority in numbers. Being upstream, they also had the current in their favour. At one stage the imperial crew

were frightened and all seemed to have been lost. But the heavy Ahom *bacharis*, manned by 60 or 70 men, were less mobile than the light *Kusas* of the imperial fleet. This factor, as well as the close co-operation between the Mughal and European admirals, and their courageous and desperate fighting enabled the imperial fleet to hold its own during the crisis. The timely deputation of Muhammad Mumin Beg by Mir Jumla turned the scales in favour of the Mughals. According to the unnamed Dutch sailor, the Ahom admiral neglected to carry out the Raja's order to lay in ambush and attack the imperial *nawwara* above the strategic point of Gauhati and thus cut off the Mughal transport of provisions. An old wounded Assamese told Talish that "the Mughal fleet could never have withstood one collision with the Ahom fleet" and Talish himself admits that Mughal advance would have been "difficult or rather impossible," but for the close co-operation between the Mughal fleet and the army⁸.

4. Ahom defensive guerilla tactics

The fall of Simlagarh, the evacuation of Samdhara and the crippling of the fleet of the Ahoms destroyed their morale. The task of defence now fell on Atan Buragohain,^{8a} who devised unique defensive methods of war, designated guerilla warfare in modern terminology. Awaiting the advent of the rains to flood the land, the Ahoms withdrew to the hills. Never daring to face the Mughals in an open engagement they resorted to harassing tactics. In the first place, they organised surprise raids and night attacks from unknown base areas or unlikely directions. The army split up into batches, which lay in ambush at all likely routes of advance and retreat of the Mughals and swooped down like hawks from nowhere on unwary victims carrying off some, shooting others or killing stray stragglers searching forage or firewood out of the camp. The Ahom guerillas used to torture their captives with a special iron appliance, resembling a Turkish padlock in such a way that they, on being allowed to return, cried in pain and ultimately died. Secondly, the Ahoms used to hinder or cut off enemy supplies. Their perfect interception of foodstuffs on transit was soon to paralyse the working of the Mughal commissariat and

reduce Lakhau, Garhgaon and Mathurapur to the brink of starvation. The 'Rajah' we are told, 'blocked all supplies, setting fire to everything, and posting soldiers so that no food outside could find its way into the town'. Thirdly, as is done according to the modern 'scorched earth' policy, they destroyed stores of powder and paddy and boats to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Mughals. Thus the northern Ahom army destroyed the store of gunpowder at Samdhara before evacuating it. Retreating eastwards to Solagarh they laid the country waste and compelled the people, north of the Tilan river, to forsake their villages, and thereby deprive pursuing Mughal bands of provisions. The Ahoms at Janmung burnt the dwellings in the fort.⁹ Fourthly, the Ahoms adopted measures of retaliation by open skirmishes or encounters on rare occasions, not to be regarded as battles.^{9a} The subsequent history of the invasion illustrated Mir Jumla's grim struggle with the Ahoms along these lines. Mir Jumla could conquer but never win the people's hearts nor enjoy their unstinted allegiance, nor yet exercise complete authority. The Ahoms could not defeat the invaders in battles but their defensive guerilla warfare largely contributed to the erosion of the patience of the victors and their eventual retirement.

5. Mir Jumla arrives at Lakhau

Undeterred by these harassing tactics of the Ahoms, Mir Jumla steadily but inexorably advanced, along the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, into the heart of Assam. When he occupied the rock fortress of Solagarh, which the Ahoms had evacuated so as to "draw the Mughals farther into the country", he received the peace offer of the Phukans. But he rejected them as his previous overtures had been left unanswered and as he thought that the object of the present feeler was to gain time and to weaken the invaders' vigilance¹⁰.

The Raja ordered his commanders (e.g. Bargohain Bhitaraal Phukan, Dihingia Phukan of Duariya family) on both banks to concentrate all the scattered forces at Lakhau. But an Ahom envoy was captured by Mir Jumla's men, and, guided by Ahom deserters, the General entered Lakhau at the old junction of the

Dihing and the Brahmaputra, on 8th March. The Raja now made another peace offer through his Brahman *guru* and the Tambuli Phukan, and agreed to pay *peshkash*. But Mir Jumla rejected it, replying that he would soon be in Garhgaon, where alone he would act according to circumstances.¹¹

Betrayed by his father-in-law and deserted by many of his men, the helpless Jayadhwaj now resolved on flight. Leaving Burha Gohain and the Dangarias at Garhgaon, and transporting his property as far as possible,—because one thousand boats which he required for the purpose could not be procured,—the king fled to Charaideo or Charai-Khorong in Namrup, on the outskirts of the Naga hills, and then to Taraisat, and, decided, in consultation with his ministers and followers, that it was impossible “to get victory over the vast hosts of Mussalmans.” After the rejection of his peace offers, the Raja accompanied by his consorts and some nobles, retreated further inland to Tipam, and endeavaured to collect 1,00,000 archers¹² in expectation of a future contingency.

6. Capture of Garhgaon

Joined by many Ahom deserters, Mir Jumla left Lakhau on 12th March. The fleet stayed behind, as it could not go up the shallow Dihing. Necessary articles were, however, transported in small boats available in the army. Proceeding with his land forces along the direct road to Garhgaon, *via* Dewalgaon (13th-14th March), Gajpur (15th March) and Trimohani (16th March), and fording *nalas*, too numerous to be mentioned in detail, Mir Jumla finally crossed the Dikhu *nala*, entered Garhgaon, the Ahom capital, on 17th March, and encamped in the eastern wing of the Raja's palace.¹³

The Raja of the Nagas now sent envoys to the Mughal General agreeing to help him with men against the Ahoms. The General declined the offer but assured him of Mughal protection in case he did not assist the Ahoms.¹⁴

Unable to escape to the Naga hills, the Ahom King had to seek shelter in the penal settlement of Namrup, notorious for its pestilential climate. In that eastern extremity of his kingdom, at 14 days' arduous journey from his capital, the 'Bhaganiya Raja'

or the Deserting king, surrounded by a small retinue of 4,980 followers and nobles, patiently awaited the advent of the rains. The Bar Gohain took refuge in Tiru, and the Phukans and a large concourse on the big *char* island of Majuli.¹⁵

Muhammad Amin, son of the historiographer Muhammad Mumin, rightly boasts

(Verse)

Khan-i-Khanan, commander-in-chief,
From whose intention the War came to its end,
When he conquered two kingdoms we saw (it),
Time spoke (its) secrets slowly.
Few events happen in one year
(Like) the conquest of Kuch Bihar and Assam.¹⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The place is evidently Burchola (92° 25'E, 26° 37'N) of *Ind. Atlas* (Sh. 124. NE), and Borcholagaon of Robinson. *Vide Darrang Dt. Gaz.* 177.

2. FI. 26-28. (ships upset and horses jumping into water during a hail storm; Mir Jumla's Bakhshi, Mir Beg Shujai killed, 16, 27); 24 (Darrang); B. VIII. 88-89; PAB. 121. For Ahom night attacks and strategic retreat, FI. 58; JBORS. I. 188.

3. Its seizure was 'beyond the powers of masters of lofty designs.' FI. 28; Blochmann, JASB 1872, p. 72; SMAB. 93-94; PAB 121 and BKK. 670-72 (differences in personnel); B. VIII. 89-99. AB. 19 (King's father-in-law dismissed and Tamuli Dalai appointed naval commander).

Atan succeeded Lecham Buragohain, maternal uncle of Jayadhvaj, on the latter's death on reaching R. Sonai. *Atan*, 25.

4. FI. 28-36; AB. 20; PAB. 122 (Ahom losses, 4,000). The Mughals were amazed at the gallantry of the Ahom Commander Lecham Hatibaruah. *Atan*, 26.

5. SMAB. 94; Glanius, 180-1; Bernier, 172; MU. III, 548-9.

6. Kaliabar 26° 32'N, 92° 59'E) is south of Bishnath, on the opposite side of the Brahmaputra. *Ind. Atlas*, Sh. 124.

According to Bhuyan (*Atan*, 26) Mir Jumla occupied Kaliabar after overcoming 'some resistance' of the Ahoms at fort Potakalang on the Diu

river. This seems doubtful. He left Kaliabar on 2 March i.e., three days after the capture of Simlagarh (26 Feb.). But we know (from BKK 673 and SMAB, 94) that Patakalang (26° 29'N, 92° 55'E, *Ind. Atlas*. Sh. 124) was besieged by the Mughals for 'six days and nights'. B. VIII (89-90) speaks of this siege as 'the second battle', lasting for five days vide *Nowgong Dt. Gaz* 32n for remains of Simlagarh.

7. Naval battle in Glanius, 154-161; FI. 37-39; AN. 711-15; SMAB. 94 (Kaliabar); BKK. 673, 675 (Ahom policy: Bargohain); AB. 20; *Storia*. II. 98-99.

Talish says that the imperial boats were taken unawares by the Ahom armada. But, according to the unnamed Dutch Sailor, the naval battle was preceded by a tempest 2 or 3 days before, and a ship of Mir Jumla capsized, and 4 Dutchmen and 24 Muslim sailors died. Mir Jumla, furious at the loss of his vessel, ordered the Dutch reporters to join any ship as a naval encounter was expected (Glanius, 150-153). After 2 days the Admiral, together with the fleet, started in search of the Ahoms, and heard the roar of guns, inferring that the land army was engaged. This suggests that the Mughals had planned to attack the Ahoms both on land and water (*ibid.*, 153-4). This is corroborated by BKK. 675. Both the land and naval forces of the Ahoms retired discomfited to Canla (*ibid.*, 676).

8. Glanius, *op. cit.*; FI. 39; JASB 1872, p. 81.

8a. He advised his men: 'Go on killing your enemy, but do not get yourself killed.' He was assisted by Baghchowal Khamon Rajmantri and two brothers Naobaicha Phukan and Chengmun Phukan. *Atan*, 32, 26.

9. FI. 39; *Storia*, II. 99; BKK. 674-5; AB, 20 (Mughals at Dijo).

9a. Examples: Gajpur *thanahdar* killed (Section C. 1); Sairing Raja almost recovered Garhgaon (); Buragohain vs. Mughals at Murkata ().

10. FI. 39-41; Glanius, 161. Solagarh in Nowgong dt. at the mouth of the Bharali above Kaliabar.

Ahom contingents were stationed at Barduar, Sairing, and all Baruas and inhabitants of deserted villages at Taimung. BKK. 682.

11. FI. 41-42; AN. 716-17; BKK. 683; Vol. II. p. 1; PAB. 123, SMAB. 95.

In the 17th century the Dihing, now joining the Brahmaputra north of Sibsagar, did so further west at Lakhau. (JBORS. IV. 484); for changes in the course of the Brahmaputra, Gait, 132. Lakhau or Lakhugarh is 27 m. due east of Bishnath, on the n. bank of the Brahmaputra near the western Point of the Majuli island.

12. BKK. 679-83; SMAB. 94-95; AB. 20; Gait, 132; PAB. 123

Charaideo (94° 55'E, 26° 55'N) is east of Garhgaon. Tipam (95° 29'E, 27° 16'N) is near the old fort of Jeypoor *Ind. Atlas*. 129.

13. FI. 43-46 (Mir Jumla's speech before an assembly on 16th night); SMAB. 95-96; Glanius, 161; *Storia*, II. 99-100 and n; MA. 40; AN. 719, 728; Gait, 133; PAB. 123-124 (Peace offers rejected at Dewalgaon and Gajpur).

Dewalgaon (=Debergaon, $94^{\circ} 3' E$ $26^{\circ} 43' N$), 14 m. due n. of Golaghat and nearly the same distance west of Jorhat (*Ind. Atlas*. 130 N.W.); Gajpur ($94^{\circ} 19' E$, $26^{\circ} 46' N$), 1 m. east of Jorhat (*Ind. Atlas*). Trimohani (16 miles west of Garhgaon) was situated at the confluence of the Dikhu and the Dihing. Garhgoon ($26^{\circ} 56' N$, $94^{\circ} 45' E$), 8 m. s.e. of Sibsagar town (*Ind. Atlas*. 129 S.E.) and on the right bank of the Dikhu. For the palace, ASR. XXII. 64-65, XXVIII. 42; XVIII. 7.

14. Glanius, 165; FI. 70. The man-eaters or the Antropophages of the unnamed Dutch sailor are to be identified with the Nagas, who used to kill men and collect skulls (JASB. 1872. Pt. 1, p. 19); BPP. 1925, 21 n.

15. FI. 70; SMAB. 95; B. VIII. 90; AB. 20-1; JIH. V. 369; *Storia*, II. 100. Dispositions of Ahom forces in BKK. 683-94; Tiru ($94^{\circ} 57' E$, $26^{\circ} 55' N$), east of Garhgaon, *Ind. Atlas*. 129. It was on the way leading to the Naga hills.

16. FI. 49 (Verse); MU. III. 549; MA. 40. Mir Jumla claimed to have explored the way to China which he expected to conquer next year. The Emperor rewarded his victorious general by bestowing on him a special *Khilat*, a *mahal* yielding one crore *dams* and a *tuman-i-tugh*. AN. 740-1.

(C) MIR JUMLA'S ADMINISTRATIVE AND MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS IN KAMRUP AND ASSAM

1. Establishment of military rule

To maintain communications with Bengal, to retain hold over the conquered country, to counteract Ahom raids, and to conciliate the local ryots, Mir Jumla established military outposts as he advanced. Each of these was placed under an officer and a garrison. He appointed Muhammad Beg and Sayyid Nasiruddin Khan *faujdars* of Gauhati and Kaliabar respectively, and 'Ataullah, Hasan Beg Zanganah, Sayyid Mirza, 'Ali Reza Beg, Anwar Beg, Mir Nurullah and Muhammad Muqim *thanadars* of Jogigupha, Kajli, Samdhara, Dewalgaon, Gajpur, Trimohani and Ramdang respectively. Under the command of admiral Ibn Husain in charge of the fleet of 323 ships, and assisted by Jamal Khan, 'Ali Beg and other officers, Munawwar Khan and other *Zamindars* of Bengal, Lakhau became a naval and military base against the Ahoms concentrated at Majuli island. Steps were taken to guard the royal palace at Garhgaon against trespass by ordinary people.¹ At Garhgaon Mir Jumla opened a mint and struck coins (rupees and pice) in the name of the Emperor.² But the establishment of a settled government was out of the question.

Mir Jumla had to be very strict and careful about getting correct information. A Moorish messenger, who gave incorrect information during the Kaliabar naval battle, had his tongue cut off and was struck with a whip, "every lash of which cut as deep as a razor."³

The capture of the Ahom capital did not mean the end of Ahom resistance. Despite the establishment of *thanas*, the line of Mughal communications could not be fully safeguarded against surprise attacks of roving bands of Ahoms. Some time after Mir Jumla's arrival at Garhgaon, six Mughal boats, laden with gold

and silver and provisions were captured on the way to Garhgaon and their crew mostly slain by the Ahoms. In fact, the Raja's officers and guerillas continued to harass the Mughals on all sides,—stationing pickets to cut off transport of food and supplies, burning everything and blockading Garhgaon,—till the advent of the rains.⁴

That year the rains started earlier than usual. Mir Jumla had originally planned to spend the rainy season at Lakhau in order to avoid the risk of scarcity or want of provisions. But lack of transport facilities would have made the timely removal of the captured goods to that place an extremely difficult task, and time was required to break the wild elephants for proper marching. So he encamped with the main army at Mathurapur,⁵ 7 miles S.E. of Garhgaon (31st March). Situated on an elevated and pleasant site, it was suitable for encampment during rains and it also abounded with fruit trees and paddy fields. Due precautions were taken to prevent sudden raids of the Ahoms, scouts being sent everyday to watch their movements.

Garhgaon, with its artillery, elephants, stores and property of the army, was guarded by Mir Murtaza, Raja Amar Singh and 50 horsemen and a few musketeers. The requisite pieces of artillery were kept there and the rest were sent to Dacca. Mir Sayyid Muhammad, *diwan-i-tan*, was deputed to conciliate the local ryots. Muhammad Abid, escheat officer, had to examine the register of the Raja's articles and arrange for payment of the soldiery and send the balance to Dacca. Muhammad Khalil was appointed *amin* and Muhammad Ashraf overseer of property.

Both Garhgaon and Mathurapur were protected by establishment of outposts on different sides. Thus Mir Jumla occupied about 100 villages in all, including Sairing, Silghat, Taukak, Charra, Raokham, Sinatoli, largely with the assistance of Ahom deserters. Salpani, on the skirts of the southern hills, was placed under Miana Khan, to repulse the activities of the Bar Gohain; Deopani, between Garhgaon and Salpani, was held by Ghazi Khan; the bank of the Dihing, n.e. of Garhgaon, was guarded by the sturdy Dariabadis under Jalal Khan, while Adam Khan at Abhoypur, guarded the Namrup side. These Mughal outposts held their own against the repeated attacks of the Ahoms.⁶

2. Mir Jumla's spoils of war in Assam

Mir Jumla considered it to be his bounden duty to guard the spoils of war as imperial property and spared no pains in discharging it. Whenever, as at Simlagarh and Kaliabar, war materials like cannon, *zamburak*, muskets, gunpowder, besides elephants, etc., left behind by the Assamese were captured, they had to be collected together and listed by a special officer. While at Dewalgaon Mir Jumla learnt from letters of some Muhammadan inhabitants of Garhgaon that the fugitive Raja, unable to carry with him all his treasure, had left behind his elephants, heavy luggage and "undefined loads" of goods there. Immediately the General despatched from Gajpur a flying column under Farhad Khan and Mir Sayyid Muhammad, the *diwan-i-tan*, to capture them. The energetic and conscientious General himself salvaged many *Zamburaks*, muskets and *Ramchangis*, thrown into tanks (e.g. the Padum pukhri tank) at the capital by the fugitive Raja and the Phukans. During Mir Jumla's stay at Mathurapur, the task of recovery of war materials was assiduously continued by Mir Murtaza.⁷

The spoils of war taken in Assam were stupendous : 82 elephants, the most valuable part of the spoils, about 3 lakhs of rupees in cash, and all articles left behind by the Raja. The number of guns captured from the start of the expedition till the General's return was 675, of which one was a large iron gun, discharging 3 md. balls; 1343 camel-swivels, 1,200 *ramchangis*, 6,570 matchlocks, 340 mds. of gunpowder, 1,960 chests of powder, each weighing about 2 or 2½ mds; 7,828 (iron) shields; of saltpetre, iron, sulphur and lead "there was no measure"; about 173 stores of paddy, each containing from 10 to 1,000 maunds, constituting "the food of the King and the Phukans for several years", which they had unwisely neglected to burn, and without which Mir Jumla's army would have been deprived of food during the impending state of siege.⁸

The defeat of the Ahom armada above Kaliabar did not mean the destruction of all the ships of the Raja. Besides those participating in the naval battle there, many lay in the Raja's *nausals* or dockyards. Mir Jumla inspected two of them, one beyond Lakhau and the other at Trimohani. In the former he

found about 100 (*bachari*) ships under the *chhapars* or thatches, measuring 70, 80, 100 and 120 cubits long, extremely strong and decorated. Though the Assamese had burnt 120 sea-going decorated (*bachari*) ships in the dockyards of Garhgaon, unequalled in size by any other ships in Assam, Mir Jumla secured sea-going warships, numbering more than 1,000, manned by 80 or 70 or 60 sailors.⁹

Mir Jumla ordered that the Assamese experts in the art of manufacture of matchlocks and gunpowder should be sent to Dacca.¹⁰ He tried in vain to secure even one of the adept elephant drivers of Assam, reputed for their skill in capturing elephants.¹¹

As in the Karnatak, so in Assam, Mir Jumla amassed huge treasure by sacking temples. After the conquest of Kajli, he brought under his control the famous idol temples of Kamakhya devi, Luna Chamari and Ismail Jogi. The temple of Dewalgaon was pillaged.¹²

During his stay in Upper Assam, Mir Jumla learnt from some Ahoms of the treasure deposited in *maidams* or graves of the Ahom princes and nobles. The exact spots being pointed out to him, he had opened them up and secured property worth Rs. 90,000, including a gold betel casket of a queen buried 80 years ago, and removed even the bones of the buried ones. The Ahom king bewailed: "Mirsey me, I have not been able to protect even the bones of my ancestors." Referring to the immense quantity of treasures, the unknown Dutch sailor observed: "As for riches, we wanted them not, having found good store in Graves." When Manucci passed through Dacca, he "saw huge boats which Mir Jumla was sending loaded with the booty" taken at Garhgaon and other places.¹³

3. Mir Jumla's treatment of the people in Assam

All political offenders in Assam were of necessity sternly punished. At Simlagarh Mir Jumla issued strict orders to the soldiers to put all recalcitrant Assamese to death and to imprison even the supplicating ones and bring them to him for necessary action. According to the unnamed Dutch sailor, he offered the Dutch Rs. 50 for "every Head" they "brought him" and Rs.

100 for each prisoner captured alive. The Ahoms captured by Mughal scouts, were cruelly scourged and then beheaded. The object of inflicting such horrible torture on the Ahoms was to force them to join the Mughals.¹⁴

On the other hand those who helped the Mughals or remained neutral were treated very kindly.¹⁵ Again, towards the general populace, not guilty of any political offences, Mir Jumla adopted a policy of moderation and showed solicitude for their welfare. By this means he endeavoured to win the affections of the Ahom peasantry, so that they might not join the guerillas in their surprise raids on the Mughal outposts and might bring supplies to the imperial army. A strict disciplinarian, he sternly forbade plunder of property and rape of women on the part of the soldiery to the utter disappointment of Mughal Don Juans and marauders. This order continued in force till the return of the Mughal army from Assam, and "not a single amir, trooper, soldier or camp-follower", could dare cast his lustful eyes on any one's property or women in Assam. And "if, by chance, anyone, high or low," perpetrated such an act or even was suspected of it, he was paraded through the city and severely punished.

Once Farhad Khan "wounded and oppressed" some villagers who had participated in his beleaguering on their return after a temporary disappearance. He had instructed Muhammad Muqim Beg "to turn upon those villages, undertake the slaughter of the men, the plunder of the property and the reproaching of the women and the children." But Mir Jumla denounced all this and gave orders for releasing the oppressed, and many besiegers, who waited on the Nawab before the rainy season, were assured of safety. Ryots, who had been compelled by the Ahom to desert their villages, began to return in increasing numbers to the Mughal outposts like Lakhau, and Dewalgaon and, being guaranteed protection, reoccupied their dwellings. Mir Jumla released the Mussalman inhabitants of Kamrup, found in the besieged fort of Simlagarh.

On reaching Garhgaon he issued a general order of rehabilitation to the effect that the inhabitants of Kamrup should return to their own homes and engage in building and agricultural activities and exempted them from payment of revenue and cesses for one year. By another general order he released

all Mughal subjects, Hindu or Muhammadan, kept as prisoners or slaves by the Raja of Assam or distributed among the Ahoms and who had lost all hopes of freedom. They were now allowed to sail down on the Assamese *kusas* to their homes, together with articles seized in the dwellings of the Ahoms.¹⁶

Mir Jumla's hopes of early submission of the Ahom populace were not easily fulfilled. Shihabuddin Talish regrets that in spite of the Raja's cruelty and Mir Jumla's kindness, the Assamese "did not at all become submissive to the people of Islam"¹⁷. Probably Mir Jumla's sacking of temples and desecration of Dewalgaon temple and digging up of graves caused such a strong revulsion of feeling that it could not be effaced by his measures for the welfare of peasants. But gradually, as a result of Mir Jumla's strong measures against political offenders and of his solicitude for the people and of the failure of Ahom raids on Mughal *thanas* the average villager came to realise that resistance to him was of no avail. In course of time the villages in the *Dukhinkol* submitted to the Mughals; and even the inhabitants of the *Uttarkol* also thought of yielding to the invaders, when the situation was completely transformed¹⁸ by the onset of the "calamitous rainy season" earlier than usual.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. FI. 21, 24, 36, 42-43, 44, 45, 46; SMAB. 95-96; PAB. 124. Ramdang is a village between Trimohani and Garhgaon.
2. FI. 73.
3. Glanius, 158.
4. B. VIII. 91; *Storia*, II, 100; Glanius, 161-2.
5. Mathurapur, near the ancient capital of Charaideo, at the foot of the Tiru mountains.
6. Programme, FI. 71-75 (author at Garhgaon); Glanius, 162-3 (Mathurapur); BKK. 694-5 (occupation of villages); SMAB. 95-96 (Sina-toli). Silghat (26° 36'N, 93° E) S.E. of Tezpur, *Ind. Atlas*, Sh. 124; Taukak (27° N, 95° 8'E) 26 m. due east of Sibsagar; Abhoypur (27° 10' N, 94° 58'E) 16 m. north of Mathurapur and 18 miles n.e. of Garhgaon, *Ind. Atlas*. Sh. 129.

7. FI. 44-45, 34-36, 47; SMAB. 96; Glanius, 181 (Mir Jumla himself acquiring Raja's treasure).

8. FI. 49-50; AN. 40 (208 battering guns, 100 elephants), Ball's Tavernier, II. 277; Bernier, 172.

Ramchangi is "some sort of light field-piece," acc. to Irvine, *Army*, 137. Hodivala (675) regards the word as a variant of *Ramjani* (a pleasure girl) and thinks that the name was given to the weapon on account of its dances (i.e. recoil) when fired off.

9. FI. 43-45, 50; SMAB. 96; B. VIII. 90-1. Description of boats in Assam. "They build warboats, like the *Kosahs* of Bengal and call them *bacharis*. There is no other difference between the two than this that the prow and stern of the *Kosah* have two (projecting horns), while the head and base of the *bachari*, consist of only one levelled plank; and as, aiming (solely) at strength, they build these boats with the pith of timber (*Qalb-dar*) they are slower than *Kosashs*." (FI. 63-64; JBORS. I. 191-2).

10. FI. 34, 64; JBORS. I. 192.

11. FI. 56; JBORS. I. 186; JASB, 1872. p. 78.

12. FI. 24; MU. III. 548; Ball, II. 278-9, 283; Glanius, 169-70 (golden cow of Deolgaon temple); SMAB. 95.

13. Details of exhumation; Graves of 14 Gohains and those of rajas in Baisakh—Asar, 1584 Saka, SMAB. 96, xxiii; but only 10 vaults, according to FI. 65-6 (JBORS. I. 193; JASB, 1872, p. 82); JIH. V. 369-70; *Storia*, II. 100; Glanius, 175-6 (escheated); for plunder in Hajo, Ball, II. 280, Glanius, 147-8.

14. FI. 34-35; Glanius, 143 (remuneration), 147 (Raja of Hajo imprisoned), 159-60 (Ahom admiral captured but released at the intercession of some high nobles); for treatment of war prisoners, Glanius, 163-4. E and D. VII (for Khafi Khan's account).

15. Glanius, 165.

16. FI. 35-36 (plunder and rape forbidden); 86-87 (Farhad censured); 146, 44-45 (villagers return), 34 and 49 (men of Kamrup), 48-49 (release of Mughal subjects).

BKK. 695, however, states that "the Mussalmans overran our territory and plundered household articles and domesticated animals."

17. FI. 34-36. Any Assamese joining the Mughal and then returning to the Raja was executed by the latter with his family. *Ibid*.

18. FI. 75.

SECTION C

Mir Jumla's Sad Plight in Assam

1. Beginning of Mir Jumla's real troubles

The difficulties that Mir Jumla had experienced so long during his victorious advance into Assam pale into insignificance when compared to what he had now to face. The rainy season was to an invader in Assam what winter is in the plains of Russia. "Streams took to the ways of oceans, and *nalas* looked like rivers." The Mughal horse, the terror of the Ahoms, was paralysed in the flooded or muddy ground. They were now emboldened to indulge freely in their harassing tactics. Still avoiding a pitched battle, they concealed themselves here and there, and, mustering from different sides, made night attacks on every *thana* and incited the villagers who had already submitted to the Mughals (as at Dewalgaon). They closed all roads, cut off news and intercepted the transport of provisions by water from Lakhau to Garhgaon. By using "blood-drinking" arrows the Ahoms made movements of the Mughals, even between Mathurapur and Garhgaon, impossible without the protection of a troop of archers. A night attack on Dewalgaon failing due to the vigilance of its *thanadar*, the Ahoms under the Bhitaraual Phukan recovered Gajpur by killing its negligent *thanadar*, Anwar Beg (10th May). By raising entrenchments on the north side of the river Dihing, from the proximity of Trimohani and Gajpur to the environs of Lakhau, the Ahoms prevented the arrival of provisions to the Mughal army. The

discomfiture of a Mughal naval escort to Tiok and beyond so emboldened the Ahoms that the transport of Mughal *beopari* (merchant) ships was suspended, involving the stoppage of arrival of provisions. As the floods on the Dihing and the torrents from the hill of Salpani froze the movements of the Dariabadis and the cavalry and infantry of Miana Khan, the Ahoms crossed the river and descending from the hill, began to surround and even invest Garhgaon, heroically defended by Murtaza without any hope of reinforcements. An Ahom host, 10-12,000 strong under the nephew of Bar Gohain, hopelessly outnumbered Ghazi Khan, *thanadar* of Deopani, but retreated after the fall of its leader. Since then, the ryots, who professing obedience were living in the environs of Garhgaon, Mathurapur and Abhoypur, began to desert their villages¹.

There were now "constant skirmishes and murders" between the Ahoms and the Mughals, too numerous to be mentioned. The Raja, burning with rage at the exhumation of the graves of his ancestors, ordered slaughter of all Mughals. The killing of a few did not, however, greatly reduce the strength of the imperial army.²

The isolation of the Mughal outposts proved to be the greatest handicap for Mir Jumla. The entire army was virtually in a state of siege from May to October, 1662. Yet that General's control over his men was so effective that during those fateful months the army was always vigilant and ready to repel the enemy even at the cost of their lives. Talish writes: "It rarely happened that day and night the soldiers drew their legs in the skirt of repose except in the narrow place of the saddle... Persons fastidious of even a particle of dust, became stained with mud from head to foot, men of delicate constitution were plunged in water and burnt by the sun... The saddles were never bare of the riders; the horses' backs were never stripped of the saddles;... masters had no expectation of service from their servants: servants ceased to attend their masters; but each and all, at the least alarm, leaped up from his post and wielded his sword with both hands."³

2. Failure of Mir Jumla's efforts to restore communications with the fleet

No other Mughal General but Mir Jumla could have saved his army from such dangers threatening it with annihilation. It was due to his coolness, prudence, promptitude and organising skill. He promptly despatched succour wherever and whenever it was needed. Rightly did he plan first to reopen his life line,—communications with his fleet. Yadgar Khan Uzbek reinforced Ali Reza, the hard-pressed *thanadar* of Dewalgaon and was successful in stamping out rebellion in the neighbourhood. But Sarandaz Khan Uzbek, the new *thanadar* of Gajpur, failed to restore communications with Lakhau, as he could not proceed beyond Tiok owing to flooded *nalas*. So Mir Jumla deputed Muhammad Murad with some ships to help Sarandaz Khan in crossing the streams and be helped by the latter from land. The plan miscarried owing to the negligence of some officers and dissensions between the two captains. The escorting flotilla was captured by the Ahoms without any engagement; Muhammad Murad fled on land towards Trimohani (23rd May) and only a few ships, manned by Dilir Khan's Afghan contingent, hastily rowed away in safety to Dewalgaon. However, Abul Hasan, sent by Mir Jumla, destroyed the entrenchments thrown up by the Ahoms to attack Deopani and slew them. For guarding Garhgaon Mir Jumla deputed a contingent including 50 horsemen of Sayyid Salar Khan⁴.

Mir Jumla now ordered Farhad Khan to fetch provisions from Lakhau, to destroy the Ahom entrenchments on both sides of the way, to restore the *thana* of Gajpur and reinforce those of Trimohani and Ramdang. Farhad was to be assisted by Abul Hasan with a sepoy contingent of Mir Jumla himself. But this stupendous task was bound to fail for paucity of boats. Leaving Garhgaon on the night of 27th May, he crossed the Dikhu, but had to come to a standstill at Tiok (between Trimohani and Gajpur) on account of floods. The field seemed to be larger than the Dihing itself, and nowhere was any road visible. Rains fell from the sky and water heaved up from below; the tents of the flooded encampment looked like bubbles on water; the cavaliers sat the whole night on their chargers and the foot-soldiers

had to remain standing. In despair Farhad tried to return, along with Sarandaz, to Trimohani, but found the path blocked by the "deep ditches and broad brooks", which the Ahoms had joined to the Dihing, and by their trenches on its banks. The Bhitaraual Phukan's boats encircled the Mughals and subjected them to heavy fire. Without ships, without provisions, the beleaguered captain found himself in a hopeless condition for one week, during which he had to eat up his oxen and horses. Muhammad Mumin Beg Ekkataz Khan, coming from the General, was held up at Trimohani by floods, and failed to relieve Farhad. For the same reason, Dilir Khan's plan to send a rescuing party on elephants had to be given up as being impracticable. At last on Farhad's signal, the Rajputs under Sujan Singh feigned to withdraw and tempted the Ahoms away from their boats, so that Farhad captured about 41 ships, mostly *Kusas*. Embarking on them at dawn, Farhad surprised and routed the negligent Ahoms, and reached Trimohani in safety (about 6th June)⁵.

3. Garhgaon Isolated

Emboldened by the failure of Farhad Khan's mission, the audacious Ahom now completely closed all the roads. None could come out of his *thana*; no help could be sent to it from outside. So Mir Jumla withdrew all *thanas*. Adam Khan returned with difficulty from Abhoypur to Mathurapur; other *thanadars* retired to Garhgaon; the Dikhu was to be guarded on the east by Sarandaz Khan and Miana Khan, and on the west by Jalal Khan Dariabadi, Ghazi Khan and Muhammad Muqim acting under the command of Mir Murtaza. The Ahoms recovered the entire country east of Lakhau except Garhgaon and Mathurapur. They had so closely invested these places that movement without protection was impossible. Mir Jumla had not the slightest ray of hope of getting help and reinforcement. No grain or other necessities of life could find their way from outside into the Mughal camp. The Mughal amirs and soldiers in Assam lost all hopes of ever returning to their homes for which they were yearning. So complete was the interception of news that their relations in Hindustan, hearing nothing of them,

performed their funeral rites. Talish does not exaggerate the misery of the imperial army when he states : "In no history has it been read that in any age from the advent of Adam to this time, a force of 10 or 12 thousand cavalry and many infantry and numberless camp followers remained for six months powerless and enclosed like the centre of a circle by brooks and streams,—so that nobody could place his foot outside the circumference of the camp like the (point of) a pair of compasses."⁶

The Ahoms now redoubled the vigour of their activities. The Raja maintained contact with his nobles and gave directions for conducting war. He sallied out of Namrup and stayed at Solaguri, only four day's march from Garhgaon. He appointed Baduli Phukan his Neog Phukan, i.e., Prime minister and Commander-in-chief ordering him to annihilate the Mughal army and to capture Mir Jumla. All Ahoms were ordered to help and implicitly obey the Baduli Phukan. In 2 or 3 days, the Phukan had a wide, lofty and strong wall, 6 miles long, and furnished with turrets, built on the bank of the Dilli, east of Mathurapur, joining the southern hills with the Dihing. His night attacks on Mathurapur, however, ceased after a severe defeat at the hands of Dilir Khan. The Mughals at Silghat retreated before a joint assault by the Baduli Phukan and the Bar Gohain to Boorhat (S. of Namrup), where the assault of the Baduli Phukan failed. The Raja of Sairing (Charing Raja, the future Chakradhwaj Singha) planned to attack Garhgaon but was overpowered by Sujan Singh. Minor clashes were too many to be counted.⁷

4. Fight for occupations of Garhgaon

The Baduli Phukan next turned towards blockading Garhgaon. As this was the place where all imperial property, provisions, animals, artillery and a few boats were stored, Mir Jumla provided for strengthening its defences, though he was not present on the spot. He despatched a column under Farhad Khan (14th June) to reinforce Mir Murtaza, desperately guarding the capital. A flotilla of 16 *jalbas* and 18 *kusas* was fitted out, the enemy trenches in the garden west of the city were destroyed, a bamboo fort extending to the bank of the Dikhu was set up in the N.W. corner of the city, and suitable guards were posted

on different sides. The Muslim musketeers of Assam, recruited from the village of Chachni and stationed by Mir Murtaza on the north, refused to desert their places, when approached by the Ahoms.

The Ahoms launched successive night assaults on the capital. On 8th July, they routed the Baksariya patrols of the northern bamboo stockade and captured half of the fort, causing much confusion and tumult. Farhad was wounded with two poisoned arrows. But due to the exertion of one and all inside the fort, the attack was repulsed. Wiser by experience, Mir Murtaza next day raised a mud wall in place of the bamboo stockade and fortified the place, and made the area in front into a level plain. Within a week he had the whole fort enclosed "by a wide and lofty wall with turrets." Mir Jumla duly appreciated the value of this wall as an effective defence saving Garhgaon. The Ahoms continued their night attacks, but Farhad, wounded though he was, remained sleeplessly vigilant. To guard the head of the bridge over the Dandga *nala* from the Ahom snipers, Mir Jumla used to depute 200 troopers every night instead of stationing a party, lest it would be busier in securing its own comforts than in defence. They also used to participate in the defence of the capital and return to Mathurapur at dawn.

Farhad fully justified the confidence which Mir Jumla had reposed in him. During the grand and simultaneous assault by four Ahom corps on the four sides of the capital in the night of 12th July, it was Farhad's strategy which saved an indiscreet Dariabadi contingent of Sayyid Salar from impending annihilation. Though wounded, Farhad stood on horseback at the centre and sent reinforcements to the different sides. Again, it was Farhad's party including the author Shihabuddin Talish, that dislodged and dispersed the Ahoms from the N. W. corner of the fort.

Deeply concerned at the fate of defenders of Garhgaon, Mir Jumla used to keep his "ears fixed on the (distant) noise" day and night. His watchers, perched on high wooden towers used to observe if fire ever broke out in Garhgaon. As he remarked to Shihabuddin Talish: "After performing the religious duty (prayer) of the morning and the prostration of thanks-giving, for 4 *gharis* I slept on the carpet of prayer (lay in the posture

of prayer). That was all the repose I took in the night and day”.

The Ahoms organised three more assaults on 15th, 17th and 18th July, but they could never penetrate into the enclosure. Mir Jumla now deputed Rashid Khan to relieve the ailing Farhad. In repeated and vigorous sorties, the new commandant destroyed the Ahom trenches in the neighbourhood of Garhgaon, especially those on the Kakujan (23rd July). The demoralised Ahoms evacuated their entrenchments on the bank of the Dilli and ceased crossing the Dandga as well. At long last peace and repose returned to the residents of Garhgaon⁸.

The indefatigable Phukan soon became conscious of the futility of his ceaseless efforts. His night attacks, stoppage of supplies and blockade of the Mughal camp,—all failed to shake the resolution of the Mughal General. The Phukan, either at the command of his king or at his own initiative, had made overtures of peace (June-July) through the mediation of Dilir Khan. Mir Jumla had offered some hard conditions of peace, so that the Ahoms might not consider his attitude as one of weakness. The Raja should present 500 elephants (which had cut their first tusks) and 30 lakh *tolas* of gold and silver, send his daughter to the imperial *harem*, offer 50 elephants with first tusks as annual tribute, and retain only Namrup and the neighbouring hills. The territories already conquered were to be annexed to the Mughal empire. The Phukan also informed Mir Jumla's agent, Khwajah Bhor Mal, in confidence that he was willing to join the Mughals in case the Raja refused the offer. When, however, Mir Jumla left Mathurapur for Garhgaon (17th August) on account of pestilence, the Ahoms refused to agree to Mir Jumla's terms.⁹

5. Pestilence and famine in the Mughal camps at Mathurapur and Garhgaon

In August a terrible pestilence broke out in Mathurapur, which affected the Mughals and the Ahoms alike. In the Mughal camp hundreds, including Mir Jumla's nephew, died of ague and flux; Dilir Khan's army dwindled to one-third. Among the Ahoms as many as 2,300,000 died. The dead could not be given

proper burial. Corpses were carried down in thousands by the Brahmaputra and its water became so infected that the Mughal crew at Lakhau could not use it without boiling.

Mir Jumla could not withdraw immediately from the pestilence-stricken camp, lest he would have to leave behind provisions and paddy for lack of transport. But food shortage was inevitable. Out of 173 paddy heaps, only 16 could be saved from flood and plunder by the enemy. Mir Jumla reserved 6 of these for the beasts and 10 for the soldiers. All had to take red and coarse rice. At first the men used beef boiled in water or stewed in fat of oxen plundered; later on they had to consume the flesh of horses, camels or elephants. A worse condition followed and men began to suffer agonies for want of their respective delicacies,—wheat, *dal*, *ghee*, sweetmeat, opium, tobacco and salt. *Ghee* sold at Rs. 14/- a seer, vetch (*mash*) at Re. 1/- a seer, opium at 1 gold mohur a *tola*, a pipe of tobacco at Rs. 3/-, *Mungdal* and salt both at Rs. 10/- a seer. Mahmud Beg Mir Bakhshi made a gift of a few sacks of tobacco to the needy instead of selling it, and reduced his own daily dose of opium to increase the quantity for distribution.¹⁰

In short, life became intolerable at Mathurapur. So Mir Jumla left it on the afternoon of the 17th August and, offering his evening prayers at a palace of the Raja, set out in the midst of violent rains, and reached Garhgaon next dawn. Some artillery carts of Mir Jumla, stuck up in the mud, were safely guarded by Dilir Khan at night and brought there on 18th evening. Three-fourths of the stored paddy could not be taken along despite the General's order. Many sick soldiers also were left behind.¹¹

The Ahoms now renewed their night attacks on Garhgaon, but to no purpose. Mir Jumla sent timely help to his captains. During the assault of the moonlit night of 15th September, Mir Jumla's despatch of a corps of his own attendants under Abul Hasan enabled Raja Sujana Singh in the eastern trenches to repel the Ahoms, while Dilir Khan in the west drove them to the Dandga *nala*. This Mughal victory so unnerved the Ahoms that they gave up their plan of night attacks.¹²

The refugees from Mathurapur soon infected the garrison at Garhgaon and the pestilence and famine became most acute.

Several complex diseases of a fatal type broke out. "The diseases of voiding excrement and dropsy supervened on ague and purging,.....death became the doctor of many.....a patient All kinds of food stuffs disappeared, except coarse red rice and the ripe and raw lemons on trees.....The grandees fell a prey to hectic fever for eating coarse rice. Poor men did not spare even the leaves on the trees, the grass on the ground or the herbs on the river side." Mir Jumla showed his humaneness by refusing to use his choicest delicacies which he had in plenty, and by sharing the food and woes of his dependents. Remarkable social service was rendered by Muhammad Mumin Tabrezi, the historiographer, who did not spare himself in nursing the sick and helping the distressed, till he himself died.¹³

6. The Mughal navy in Assam

During all these months of crisis, the imperial *nawwara* defended itself and protected the army as well. Cut off from Mir Jumla early in the rainy season, Admiral Ibn Husain kept up the spirits of his crew at Lakhau by well-reasoned speeches, and adopted various measures on his own initiative. An equipped flotilla sent under Ali Beg to reinforce Gajpur was overwhelmed on water and from land and had to retire down to Bansbari (between Dewalgaon and Gajpur). Here it united with the ships of Munawwar Khan, also sent by Ibn Husain, and after recovering two Mughal ships from Tamulidalai, returned to Lakhau. The admiral had also planned to reopen communications with Mir Jumla by sailing to Garhgaon along an unfamiliar route and joining with Ali Beg's flotilla at Gajpur. But he was wisely dissuaded from undertaking this difficult task by Yadgar Khan *thanadar* of Dewalgaon, as it would have been highly impolitic to leave Lakhau, which stood at the junction of several rivers and contained the entire baggage and provisions of the army.

Indeed Lakhau was the source of strength and inspiration of the beleaguered army and Mir Jumla was anxious to contact the fleet. Through two Ahom couriers, whom he had won over, the General sent a message to the Admiral, advising the latter not to be anxious at the army's condition, but to be care-

ful about supplies, to concentrate all forces at Lakhau by summoning the contingents from Kaliabar, Samdhara and Dewalgaon.

Ibn Husain assured the General (7th July) of the safety of his fleet and the sufficiency of his strength, but objected to the withdrawal of the *thanas* of Samdhara and Kaliabar as that would have cut off the fleet from Bengal. However, he withdrew the *thana* of Dewalgaon as being useless and it was occupied by the Bhitaraul Phukan advancing from the Majuli island. Ibn Husain set up a bamboo fort, threw up trenches and fortified them to guard against night attacks, and maintained communications with Gauhati on river. For a time Lakhau was blockaded from the west, south and north. But the Admiral brought plenty of paddy from the north bank of the Brahmaputra, and slaughtered many Ahoms of Solagarh (between Lakhau and Kaliabar) in repeated sorties. At this the overawed local peasants made over their own chiefs in chains to the admiral, professed submission (5th August), and were appointed to guard the line of communications westward. Thus the way from Lakhau *via* Kaliabar to Gauhati became perfectly safe. Sayyid Husain succeeded his deceased father-in-law Sayyid Nasiruddin as *thanadar* of Kaliabar (12th August), while Kishan Singh succeeded Sayyid Mirza deceased as *thanadar* of Samdhara. In short, Ibn Husain utilised every moment in the work of keeping hold over the country, for the slightest weakness on the part of the fleet would have so terribly disheartened the men of the army as to lead them "to cut the thread of the hope of their life" and to render their liberation impossible.¹⁴

The Ahoms, baffled in their effort to crush the army at Garhgaon, turned to the destruction of the Mughal fleet. But a midnight raid by the Bhitaraul Phukan on the garrison at Lakhau miscarried, as also other Ahom raids on its environs. By way of reprisal Ibn Husain and his men ruthlessly plundered and slew the Ahom inhabitants. The overawed and distracted natives handed over two of their commanders, Chinglung Luthuri Dayangia Rajkhoa and Bura Gohain, to the Mughal admiral. They also helped the Mughals in repeatedly defeating the Ahoms entrenched between Lakhau and Garhgaon. The Bhitaraul Phukan had to withdraw from Dewalgaon to Rangali

Chapari in the Majuli island. Ibn Husain now reestablished the *thana* of Dewalgaon and sent the happy news to Mir Jumla through two Ahoms (5th September). Tamulidalai also fled, after being defeated at Bansbari, leaving the way to Gajpur clear.¹⁵

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. FI. 75 (rains), 75-78 (Ahom activities), 89-91 (arrows, closing of roads), 75-6 (Deolgaon), 79-80 (Deopani and ryots); BKK. 700-1 (Gajpur), 702-3 (Deopani). See also MA. 43; MU. III. 542; Glanius, 171.
2. BKK. 695; SMAB. 97; AB. 20-1; PAB. 525.
3. FI. 23-94; *Aurangzib*, III. 164, 168-9.
4. FI. 75-76 (Deolgaon); for Gajpur and Tiok, *ibid.*, 77, 78 and BKK. 700-1; for Deopani and Garhgaon, FI. 81.
5. FI. 81-86; BKK. 701-3 (Bhitarual Phukan, Tiok and Cina).
6. FI. 86-91; Talish's version (p. 89), also quoted in *Aurangzib*, III. 164n; Glanius, 170-171; acc. to the Ahom Buranjis the withdrawal of *thanas* was done in stages. SMAB. 96-7.
7. FI. 91-92, 93 (Sairing); MA. 40; Glanius, 170-171; BKK. 703 (attempt to capture Mir Jumla), 703-704, 707 (Silghat and Boorhat), 707-8 (Dilir's successful charge on Tamulidalai's fort at Damarai, 704-5 (Mughal retreat from Sairing to Boorhat, Ahoms encircled Taokak).
- Sairing, about 7 or 8 *kos* from Dewalgaon. (FI. 139). The Dilli (modern Diroi) lay north of the Dandga (n.n.e. of Garhgaon) and issued from the (eastern) hills, passed by Mathurapur and fell into the Dihing. (FI. 112, 92) The Diroi is now an affluent of the Disang. Silghat is probably Seelakhotee, n.e. of Garhgaon (JASB. 1861 map, p. 366), and Silakuti of *Sibsagar Dt. Gaz. map*.
8. FI. 96-118.
The Kakujan R., north of Solaguri, falls into the Buri Dihing. *Ind. Atlas*, 129.
9. FI. 95-96. The name of Mir Jumla's agent is given as Puran Mal in AN. 798.
The BKK. (699) asserts that in the month of Ahar (June-July), Mir Jumla proposed that if the Bargohain joined him, he would "go away leaving the country in his charge." But the Bargohain refused. Then Mir Jumla sent a force (including elephants and horses) to storm the hill fortress of the Bargohain (? on the Sessa river), but it perished.
10. FI. 128-32; Glanius, 170-171 (water boiled), *Storia*, II. 100-101.
"The Raja had carried away all kinds of provisions and reduced by this

means the Emir into a "strange extremity." Glanius, 181; SMAB. 97; The Raja burnt *nausal* and paddy stores (*Ibid.*, 96). The OPL.MS. of FI. (125) gives the price of salt as Rs. 30 a Seer.

11. 133-5. Probably some iron guns were left behind JASB (1872), 91 n.

12. FI. 135-7; Glanius, 181-2. According to the unnamed Dutch sailor Mir Jumla's plan of encircling the attacking Ahoms with horsemen was very effective (Glanius, 71-2). For his plan of collective punishment of abetting villagers, Gait, 134.

13. FI. 137-38.

14. FI. 118-126; BKK. 702-3, 706 (Gajpur and Tamulidalai); BKK. II. 3 (Dewalgaon).

15. FI. 126-8; BKK. 707, 709 (midnight raid): II. 3-4 (Dewalgaon and Gajpur); PAB. 126.

SECTION D

Mir Jumla's Resumption of Offensive

1. Mir Jumla breaks the isolation of Garhgaon

At long last, by the middle of Safar (20th September, 1662), the crisis which had so long hung over Mir Jumla's army was over. The end of the rains came in sight, the floods receded, the roads reappeared, and news began to move. Since the re-establishment of the *thana* of Dewalgaon, Mir Jumla began his efforts to link up Garhgaon with Lakhau. Mir Murtaza built a wooden bridge over the Dikhu near Garhgaon. On 25th September Abul Hassan proceeded to Sairing and Dewalgaon along a circuitous high embankment from the bank of the Dikhu. Dispersing the enemy on his way with the help of Ahom guides, he set up *thanas* at Sairing (under Ghazi Khan) and Gajpur (under Sayyid Ahmad Jamaatdar). On reaching Dewalgaon he reopened communications with the fleet. Mir Jumla's letters to the Emperor and to Dacca, containing news of the condition of the army, as well as his *parwanas* to the Queen-dowager of Darrang, to the Mughal *faujdar* of Gauhati and to the *thana* of Kaliabar, were delivered to the Admiral for despatch to the proper quarters. Soon afterwards Mir Jumla received the Emperor's *farman*, appointing Ihtisham Khan governor of Assam and Rashid Khan *faujdar* of Kamrup, but each declined to accept the offer. Provisions were sent by the Admiral on boats

under escort to Dewalgaon and thenceforth to Garhgaon on dry land-route through porters, *beoparis* (merchants) and pack animals, as the river route there was still unsafe. These reached Garhgaon on 24th October, while another consignment of provisions carried entirely on boats by Abul Hassan arrived there on 31st. "Plenty replaced want and the long-suffering imperial army began to experience unbounded joy."¹

2. Mir Jumla's march to Tipam

As the land dried up, the Mughal cavalry again became irresistible. The Ahom king retired, as before, to the hills of Namrup. The Baduli Phukan now began to play a double game. On the one hand, he, along with Garhgaoni Phukan, strengthened the entrenchments on the bank of the Dilli, and on the other he approached Mir Murtaza to induce Mir Jumla to make peace. But Mir Jumla demanded unconditional surrender of the Ahoms and refused to consider the proposal so long as the latter did not wait on him. The General now planned to attack the Baduli Phukan's trenches, 20 miles north-east of Garhgaon, simultaneously from two sides. Abul Hassan sailed (10th November) up the Dilli to catch them up in the rear, while Mir Jumla himself left Garhgaon (16th November) and forded the Dandga and the Dilli. The Baduli Phukan evacuated his "strong and spacious fort."²

On 20th November, Mir Jumla reached the Dihing, only to see that the Ahoms under the Burha Gobain had deserted their stronghold on the other bank and retired to Barkata. The Burha Gobain, guarding the area between Taokak on the south, the Dihing on the north and Solaguri on the west, was scared away by the fear of Mir Jumla's name.³

But the terrible hardships and strain of the campaign in the foul climate of Assam had told on Mir Jumla's health and the first onset of the disease of which he was to die came. While reconnoitring the enemy entrenchment, he fell down from his horse and, reclining on the ground, so long as the bed was not made, he became senseless, Dillir Khan taking his head on his lap. On recovery of his senses, he was taken to a tent. Shihabuddin Talish came to attend on him ten days later.⁴

On 30th November, the Baduli Phukan, rightly suspected of treachery by the Raja, joined Mir Jumla at Silikhatol along with his three brothers, and offered to bring the Raja a prisoner. Mir Jumla rewarded him and crowned him Dekha Raja (lit. the junior king). In effect the Phukan became the Mughal Governor of Eastern Assam in charge of the "the affairs of the villages and towns between Garhgaon and Namrup and the regulation of the land and water routes up to Trimohani."⁵

Guided by the first renegade Phukan, Mir Jumla continued his march in spite of his illness. On 2nd December he deputed Darwesh Beg to extirpate the Ahoms and capture their elephants at Solaguri. On the 6th he himself started for Namrup and reached Solaguri the next day, and crossed the river of the same name on the 8th, being preceded by Darwesh Beg and Baduli Phukan as Van.⁶

On 10th December Mir Jumla took his meal, followed by a bath, for the first time after his illness. But he soon complained of pain in and swelling of the stomach. At night there came a burning fever and pain in the chest. Dr. Karima of Gilan alleviated his suffering, but the patient steadily refused to have his blood abstracted. Pleurisy appeared after two or three days.

Nevertheless, Mir Jumla resolved to advance to Namrup to capture the Raja with the help of the Baduli Phukan. But the dispirited Mughal army, even at the risk of losing their service and property, refused to enter Namrup, whose very air breathed death, where no provisions could come by land or water and where rains were expected to start towards the end of January. The apprehension of suffering untold miseries as in the past, and of being isolated and starved by the Ahoms, the fear that the army, already depleted by famine and pestilence, might be insufficient for extirpating the Raja and guarding the road from Namrup to Garhgaon, and the grave possibility that the Mughal cavalry, unable to move in the heights sheltering the Raja, would be encircled by his forces and could have "neither place to stay nor road to retreat,"—all weighed on the minds of the Mughal soldiers. Privates and officers alike plotted to desert their General during the crossing of the Dihing. They were, however, quieted by Dilir Khan, who asked Mahmud Beg Bakhshi to inform Mir Jumla of the situation.

The ailing General was perturbed at the wavering attitude of his army. His physical agony was aggravated, and when, on the 15th December, he set out on a palanquin, he looked "anxious and grave." At last on the 18th, he pitched his tents at the village of Tipam (opposite the pass of Namrup) and posted Miana Khan to guard the further side of the Dihing.⁷

3. Conclusion of Peace

If Tipam marked the farthest point in Mir Jumla's penetration into Assam, it was also destined to be the starting point in his retreat. For it was here that negotiations for peace were finalised. Both sides were now eager for it. As regards the Ahoms, their patriotic feelings were outraged by the foreign occupation of their land and of their capital, from where even their Swargadeo (or Heavenly king) was ousted. The occasional harassment of the invaders could hardly assuage the pangs of their national humiliation. In Ahom diplomatic usage no price was considered too high to secure the freedom of their land from the enemy. For this purpose promises of indemnity or tribute, could easily be made under duress in a treaty. But these could equally easily be scrapped again, following a change in the situation,—internal revival or external weakness. Convinced that prolongation of hostilities with the Mughals would spell disaster for the Ahoms, their supreme commander-in-chief, Atan Buragohain, visited the king in his retreat, tried to restore his drooping spirits, and after a discussion of the pros and cons of the situation, finally secured his consent for the peace. The defection of the Baduli Phukan and many other notables alarmed the Ahom king. Despairing of further resistance against a General, who had no intention of abandoning his resolve, the king and his Phukans considered peace to be the only means of saving their country, and had begun to send envoys and gifts to Mir Jumla.

But the Mir had rejected the peace overtures as being insincere (c. 30th November). However, a fortnight later, at one stage before Tipam, the Ahom envoys induced Dilir Khan to persuade him to come to terms. In fact the General was in a most unenviable position. Conquest had not been followed by

establishment of a settled peaceful government. All his endeavours to win over the people by concessions, by example and by propaganda proved to be no avail. The design of establishing a military rule was far from his mind, for it was impracticable. Yet undeniably the mainstay of his authority in that alien, inhospitable and distant land, was the army itself. That army,—with its patience strained to the utmost limit, its cup of misery over-full, pining for an early return to taste the joys of their homes,—was on the brink of mutiny. Weighed down by disease, worried about his own shattered constitution, disconcerted by disaffection in the army, calculating the possible evil effects of rejecting the peace offer, and desirous of releasing all Mussalman prisoners of war, Mir Jumla reluctantly agreed to conclude peace. Circumstances, he held, inexorably drifted to that culmination and a speedy conclusion of peace and prompt return he felt to be “proper and best” for all. But even in that distressed state Mir Jumla wanted to put a bold face on his retreat and make it clear that he could still advance further and ordered that the preliminaries of peace would be made at Tipam. His envoy, Khwaja Bhor Mal, conferred with the Phukans, the authorised agents of the Raja.⁸ The terms of the treaty of peace were finally drawn up through the mediation of Dilir Khan (Treaty of Ghilajari Ghat, Tipam, 9th Magh, 1584 *Saka*, i.e., 23rd January, 1663).^{8a}

Mir Jumla may well claim to have secured “Peace with Honour.” Firstly, the prestige of the empire was kept up, and that of the Ahom Raja humbled. Jayadhwaj agreed to “rule as a vassal” of the Emperor, to send an Ahom noble as ambassador with a contingent of *paiks* to the court of the Mughal pro-consul at Gauhati, and to remain obedient to his feudal lord.⁹ He also agreed to send at once his daughter together with a worthy dowry and the sons of the Raja of Tipam to the imperial court.^{9a}

Secondly, a huge war indemnity was exacted from the king. He was required to pay immediately 20,000 *tolas* of gold, 1,20,000 *tolas* of silver (i.e. rupees) and make over 20 dressed elephants for the Emperor, 15 for Mir Jumla and 5 for Dilir Khan. Moreover, he agreed to pay next year 3,00,000 *tolas* of silver (or 3 lakhs of rupees) and 90 elephants in three quarterly instal-

ments. Thirdly, one son each of the Burha Gohain, the Bar Gohain, the Garhgaonia Phukan (Rajshahur Rajmantri) and the Bar Patra Phukan, the four pillars of the Ahom Kingdom, were to be sent as hostages,^{9b} pending the payment of the indemnity in instalments. Fourthly, the Raja also agreed to pay in future an annual tribute of 20 elephants at Gauhati. Fifthly, there was considerable expansion of the eastern limits of the Mughal empire. By way of dowry the Raja had to cede to the Mughals for the first time more than half of the province (pargana in Assamese sources) of Darrang in the Uttarkol, abounding in elephants, and the kingdom of Nakti Rani, adjoining the Garo hills, Beltala and Dimarua (or Dumaria pargana in the Dakhinkol. The boundaries of the Mughal empire in the east were extended from the Monas to the Bharali and the Kallang rivers in the northern and southern banks of the Brahmaputra respectively. Lastly, the Ahom king agreed to release the captives carried off from the Mughal dominion in Kamrup and also the imprisoned family of the Baduli Phukan.¹⁰

Mir Jumla sent to Aurangzeb Jayadhwaj's letter of submission. The Emperor ratified the treaty and duly rewarded Mir Jumla.¹¹

There were, however, little chances of full implementing of the terms of peace. Even during Mir Jumla's stay in Assam disputes arose regarding hostages, payment of indemnity including elephants, delimitation of frontiers and repatriation of Ahoms accompanying Mir Jumla. On 5th January, 1663, the Raja sent the princess, the hostages, gold (20,000 tolas) silver (40,000 tolas) and 10 elephants to the Mughal camp, and promised to send the balance of 30 elephants before the army's arrival at Lakhau. The Mir was keen on having the hostages as stipulated. The Ahoms had sent the nephew (brother's son) of the Burha Gohain instead of his son. On Mir Jumla's insistence, the latter came but as he was suffering from smallpox, Mir Jumla demanded another son of the Burha Gohain (by the Raja's sister). But as he had died a few days before this, Mir Jumla demanded one of the two sons of the Bar Phukan (born of a sister of the Raja). The Phukans refused to yield on this point, as it was not stipulated in the treaty, in spite of the persuasion of Dilir Khan and Khwajah Bhor Mal. Mir Jumla

thought that the exchange could have been made if Dilir Khan had been more diligent. Dilir Khan personally to came the General and "laboured to file away this baseless displeasure."¹²

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. FI. 138-42; 143-4 (imperial *farman*); BKK. II. 2 (Sairing and Gajpur). Mir Jumla to Van den Brouke (2 letters), *Storia*. IV. 430.

2. FI. 142-146; BKK. II. 4-5 (Mughal advance, Ahom peace offers, retreat of Ahoms); BKK. 707-8 (Baduli defeated at Boorhat; Mughal siege of Damarai; Ahom retreat to Jhanji, east of Jorhat and Tiok); 709 (Baduli ill; battle at Charaideo and attack on Mughals at Saffry n.e. of Mathurapur).

3. FI. 146; The Ahom Buranjis state that the Burha Gohain fled only after a pitched battle with the Mughals. BKK. 713; II. 5; SMAB. 97; B. VIII. 912; AB. 21; PAB. 125.

Solaguri, a former capital, 18 miles s.e. of Dibrugarh, and 33 miles n.e. of Garhgaon, and on the southern bank of the Dihing. *Ind. Atlas*. Sh. 129.

4. FI. 146.

5. FI. 147-8; SMAB. 97; PAB. 125; BKK. II. 6-8 (names of Ahom deserters); B. VIII. 92; Silikhatol is Seelakhottee, n.e. of Garhgaon, JASB. 1861, map. p. 366.

6. FI. 148-50; BKK. II. 8-9 (Ahom dispositions); 713-5. Was the encounter at Solaguri the "another" (and evidently the last) battle between the Ahoms under Burha Gohain and Mir Jumla, described in B. VIII. 93?

7. FI. 150-3; SMAB. 97; MA. 43-44; Bernier, 172; PAB. 126.

8. FI. 148-9; 152-3; SMAB, xxiii; AB. 21-2. Glanius, 174-5 (Dilir's persuasions). Mir Jumla sent some provisions to the Raja, so as to win him by showing that he had enough for his army and to spare. The Raja understood the "General's design" but though unwilling to surrender himself he expressed his willingness to agree to reasonable terms. (Glanius, 172-3).

8a. The terms as given below are based on Persian and Assamese sources. Talish says that these were drafted by Mir Jumla's munshi FI. 153-56. An Assamese version is given with names of Ahom signatories: The Bargohain, Atan Buragohain, the Barpatra Gohain and the Rajmantri Phukan. *Lachit*... App. III. 190-1. This refers to the circumstances of the invasion.

9. B. II (b), 1-5; SMAB, 100.

9a. The Ahom Buranjis (B. II (b), 1-5 and SMAB. 100) and AN. 808, speak of the daughter of the Tipam Raja, while Talish speaks of his sons. The name of the Ahom princess is given as Nangchen Gabharu in AB 22;

PAB. 127-8), also called Ramani Gabharu. She was born of Jayadhwaj and his junior wife Pakhari Gabharu (daughter of Momai-tamuli Barbarua, the reputed general and statesman of Assam. Five years later the princess was married to Prince Md. A'zam or Azamtara or Ali-Jah (May 2, 1668) and was renamed Rahamat Banu. MA. 73. See Bhuyan, *Ramani Gabharu*.

9b. Bhuyan gives a slightly different account of the hostages; Ramrai, nephew of the Burhagohain; Dhala Gohain, son of Bargohain, Langi Gohain, son of the Barpatra Gohain; and Maupia, son of Rajsahur Rajmantri Phukan. *Atan*, 31.

10. The dowry included, acc. to the Assamese version (*Lachit*, *op. cit.*) four *parganas* Darrang, Dumaria, Kajli and Beltala. This does not mention the kingdom of Naktirani, while Talish does not refer to Kajali. For Nakti Rani, JBORS, I. 182n; Desh Beltola, south of Pandu and Gauhati, Robinson's map of Kamrup.

For Ahom versions of the peace, see B. II (b), 1-5 (Jayadhwaj's proclamation and account of tributes paid to the Padshah); SMAB, 98-102; B. VIII. 93-4 (many valuable ornaments to be paid by the Raja : Mir Jumla's presents to the Raja worth Rs. 15,000); BKK. II. 9 (Baduli Phukan at first advised Mir Jumla not to make peace, but only after having a talk with Ahom envoys).

11. SMAB. 99-100; Mir Jumla's letter to Aurangzeb, in *Sadhona*, II. 117.

12. Payment of indemnity, SMAB. 100-101; B. II. 5-7, Boundry dispute, SMAB. 102; repatriation of Ahoms, *ibid*; for hostages, FI. 156-8; for dispute after Mir Jumla's death, BKK. II. 12-14, 18; B. II. 10-11, 18; B. VIII. 97-98; Bhuyan, *Lachit*, 191.

SECTION E

Mir Jumla's Retreat from Assam and Death

1. Aggravation of the General's illness and his death

On 10th January Mir Jumla issued the order of return to Bengal to the intense delight of all. Riding a palanquin, the sick Nawab retreated directly from Tipam to Trimohani, without going to Garhgaon. He felt better on reaching Lakhau (22nd January). But he had a relapse at Kajli fort (2nd February) with occasional difficulty of breathing due to "the agony of pleurisy and swelling and suffocation under the left chest." In the beginning he was treated by the Dutch surgeon, Gelmar Vorburg, who prescribed for him distilled sulphur for a week at the rate of 3 or 4 *mashas* (1/12th of a *tola*) a day. Subsequently on the advice of an English physician, he took daily 4 *mashas* of the best treacle (or theriaca) and oil of fennel. Later still he himself ate Jewish bitumen for a week. The use of all these hot medicines, against the strong protests of Dr. Karima, led to an aggravation of all bad symptoms; difficulty of breathing and palpitation of the heart grew intense, while swelling spread from foot to right arm and stomach, and the patient felt very thirsty. At times there were fits of coughing and drops of blood came out with the phlegm. "The skill of the doctor vanished at the appearance of the ulcer of the lungs and tympany."

At Baritala (28th February) Mir Jumla's condition grew alarming. "An excessive burning fever" and a violent cough indicated the onset of consumption, and "a black burning blood" came out of the lungs with the phlegm, which ultimately changed into pus. He grew so weak that he could not stand, and began to faint. Physicians came, Hakim Zahir Ardistani from Hughli, Hakim Mirza Muhammad from the neighbourhood of Rajmahal, and Hakim Shafi'a from Dacca. They differed in their diagnosis, but agreed on the outcome of the disease. They expressed, "openly and by hints" that the Nawab had lost all power of resistance, and that "endeavour for recovery and search for release". were "outside the 'Canons of Medicine', unless the Absolute Doctor gives recovery.....and has pre-ordained a second life." All appetite was gone. The doctors importuned him to drink the broth of crabs. This, too, he refused after some days. Hakim Zahir now prescribed goat's milk as the Nawab's "diet and medicine", saying that he might recover if he could digest it, but that death would be hastened if "looseness of the bowels" set in. Eventually the second alternative came to pass.

Mir Jumla conveyed his last wishes to Mahmud Beg, Mir Bakhshi : his slaves were to be liberated, his corpse was to be washed and shrouded, his bones were to be sent to holy Najf, and his many possessions in Persia were to be converted into pious endowments.¹

The doctors suggested a change from Baritala to Khizrpur. The Nawab resignedly agreed, saying, "I am now in your hands like a boy : do whatever appears best for my good." On 27th March, he was placed on a *charpai*, and taken to a boat, which glided down the Brahmaputra. Half an hour before sunset on Wednesday, 2nd Ramzan, 1073/31st March, 1663 (April 11, NS), the "*amir a'zam, sipahsalar mu'azzam*", the great noble, great Commander-in-chief, died on board the boat, 4 miles above Khizrpur, "after having performed the two confessions of faith and whatever else was required by religion." His bodily remains, carried that very night to Khizrpur was required by religion." His bodily remains, carried that very night to Khizrpur, were interred the next day by Dilir Khan and Ihtisham Khau temporarily in the vault which had been constructed at

the Nawab's order after his starting for Assam. Subsequently they were taken at the Emperor's orders, to the imperial court by Ihtisham Khan.² History is silent as to whether they were carried to Najf according to his testament. No tomb of Mir Jumla has yet been traced in India.

2. Administrative and Military problems during Mir Jumla's retreat

Mir Jumla's retreat was methodically planned and skilfully executed. Indeed with a less consummate General the retreat of the imperial army would have been a disaster. The Ahoms did not treacherously fall upon the Mughals. But the General took all precautions to guard against that contingency ; Qasim Beg Baruti formed the rearguard of the army, and escorts were arranged wherever necessary. Subsequent modifications of such original arrangements were, however, inevitable. Stern orders were passed forbidding the Mughal soldiers to oppress the Ahom ryots or to plunder their goods and family during their return.³

One of the pressing tasks before the General was the safe removal of imperial property from Garhgaon. Even before his departure he had urged Mir Murtaza to join Ibn Husain speedily and sent instructions to both about the transport of articles. But as the boats sent by the Admiral were insufficient for the purpose, Mir Murtaza had to procure more boats. So he could not meet the Nawab at Trimohani as arranged. Again, Muhammad Murad Beg could not come to escort Mir Murtaza as originally planned. Hence without waiting at Trimohani for Mir Murtaza, Mir Jumla ordered that the *thanadars* of Sairing, Gajpur and Dewalgaon should escort Mir Murtaza to Lakhau.

There Mir Jumla waited for a few days (22nd-28th January). Mir Murtaza also came there with all men and property. But the Ahoms did not deliver the balance of 25 elephants of the current year's tribute. So Mir Jumla stationed Dilir Khan and the entire fleet at Lakhau for collecting the elephants within 10 days. In case of the Raja's failure to deliver them, Dilir would return to Mir Jumla and the war would be renewed next year or another year with full preparations.⁴

Mir Jumla could not wait longer at Lakhau. Various pressing problems still demanded his attention and the rainy season was near at hand,—the settlement of the affairs of the newly annexed districts of Darrang, Dimarua and others, the administration of Gauhati, the chastisement of the Raja of Kuch Bihar and its annexation. Arranging that the main army would go on land along the Dakhinkol to a place opposite Baritala and cross the Brahmaputra, the General left Lakhau with the hostages on a boat and reached Kaliabar (30th January), where he interviewed Sayyid Husain (son-in-law of Sayyid Nasiruddin Khan) and Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq. They were asked to accompany Dilir Khan in his return march, together with all elephants caught before or after. Dilir arrived at Pandu with 8 elephants (12th February), leaving some men at Lakhau to bring the remaining elephants.⁵

Another problem was that of the Ahom emigrants to Bengal, and it caused some friction between Mir Jumla and the Ahoms. To the Raja's remonstrance asking Mir Jumla to prohibit them from following the army, the latter replied that he was not taking any one forcibly, but that he had not forbidden those who accompanied the Mughal army of their free choice. At Trimohani he witnessed many *Kusas* "full of Mussalmans and Assamese", coming from Garhgaon. Here some ryots of Kamrup, prisoners in Namrup and its environs, and the released members of the family of the Baduli Phukan, joined Mir Jumla. Many Assamese, male and female, voluntarily came along with Mir Murtaza from Garhgaon to Lakhau.⁶

An additional cause of dispute arose over the question of delimitation of frontiers. The Ahoms wanted to follow the terms of the treaty of 1638 and fix the river Asurar Ali in the south and the Barnadi in the north. But Mir Jumla insisted on the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty of 1663, i.e., the Kajli in the south and the Bharali in the north. On 30th January he started from Kaliabar in a palanquin, inspected the annexed portions of Dimarua, fixed the boundaries as above and crossed the wilderness of Kajli, which had not been traversed by any previous Mughal army. Here with the help of the local people, he had the jungles cleared and a road constructed on which 5 or 6 horsemen could ride abreast. Covering 34 *kos* in 4 days, during

which "no fodder could be procured except grass and no food except water", he crossed the Kallang by boat and halted at the foot of the Kajli Fort.⁷

Mir Jumla had also to deal with the feudatory chiefs of Assam. At Kajli (2nd-11th February), Mir Jumla granted interviews to the mother of Makaradhwaj, Raja of Darrang, (who had died in Assam) and rewarded her (9th February) for guarding the road against the Ahoms and for her other services rendered to Muhammad Beg, *faujdar* of Gauhati, during the rainy season. The General also put the *tika* of kingship on the forehead of the 12 year old boy of the Raja. On the same day Mir Jumla granted an interview to the mother of the Raja of Dimarua, the most important of all zamindars of Dakhinkol, but disbelieved her excuse that her son could not come on account of illness. All who had come to see Mir Jumla took leave of him at Pandu.⁸

Despite his serious illness at Pandu (11th February) Mir Jumla arranged for the administration of Kamrup. He strengthened its defences and appointed (12th February) Rashid Khan its *faujdar* and Muhammad Khalil *Bakhshi* and *Waqi'annis*, and placed the hostages in charge of the former. A picket of 500 men 40 warships were stationed with Rashid, while another small force and 10 ships with Muhammad Beg at Kajli. Mir Sayyid Muhammad diwan was ordered (11th February) : (a) to distribute land in the *sarkar* of Kamrup to the ryots, who had been carried off by the Ahoms as prisoners and now released, and to the voluntary emigrants from Assam, and (b) to employ in the imperial service some able artisans, handicraftsmen and artillery-men, as stipend-holders. The diwan was specially ordered to give the Baduli Phukan a *pargana* yielding 3,000 mds. of paddy in one of the *sarkars* of Bengal⁹.

Mir Jumla reached Baritala, commanding the road to Kuch Bihar (28th February), and was joined after 5 or 6 days by the remainder of the Assam army, and also by Isfandiyar Khan, 'Askar Khan and Raja Bahroz, who had been waiting at the frontier of the Ghoraghat and Kuch Bihar. Though his illness was on the increase, "his sense of honour forbade him to pass by the neighbourhood of that country and to go back to Jahan-girnagar (Dacca) without conquest". He got a litter prepared

for himself so that whenever he felt better, he would proceed on it to Kuch Bihar. However, as his condition grew alarmingly worse, he was forced to abandon the idea of invading Kuch Bihar himself and selected Dilir Khan for executing that task with the assistance of 'Askar Khan and Raja Bahroz. The General himself would stay at Baritala until the arrival of the Khan and the completion of the conquest of Kuch Bihar. Subsequently, when he was medically advised to go to Khizr-pur, he changed his plan and commissioned 'Askar Khan to undertake that work¹⁰.

3. Significance of Mir Jumla's Assam Campaign and causes of his success against the Ahoms

The last campaign of Mir Jumla was also the greatest one of his life. It was the first and the last expedition, waged on behalf of the Mughal Empire, which extended its eastern frontier far into Assam. It marked, indeed, the culmination of the north-eastern push attempted by the Muslim conquerors and rulers since the time of Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyar. In reality the campaign was a remarkable military exploit. Mir Jumla succeeded where Muhammad bin Tughlaq of Delhi and 'Alauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal had signally failed. Even in Jahangir's reign the Mughal invasion of Assam was initially successful, but ultimately a failure. In reply to the Assamese peace offers after the capture of Solagarh, Mir Jumla is said to have answered that the Raja should not regard the expedition as the petty expeditions of former chiefs, whose victory was soon changed into defeat.¹¹ Shihabuddin Talish observes : "In the past no (foreign) king could lay the hand of conquest even on the fringe of this country, and no foreigner could tread it with the foot of invasion." "The Rajas of Assam", writes Muhammad Kazim, "have never bowed the head of submission and obedience, nor have they paid tributes or revenue to the most powerful monarch, but they have curbed the ambition and checked the conquests of the most victorious princes of Hindustan. The solution of a war against them has baffled the penetration of heroes who have been styled conquerors of the world."¹²

Mir Jumla was able to recover Mughal Kamrup within the brief space of one month and even that mysterious and dreadful country of Assam¹³ fell prostrate before him within barely two months and a half. Indeed, Mir Jumla's advance from Kuch Bihar to the Ahom capital was a sort of a "triumphal march." The Ahom King had mustered his army at Samdhara, "the key to his dominions," thinking that it would be, as it had been in former expeditions, the farthest point of advance of the imperial army¹⁴. But Mir Jumla penetrated almost into the eastern end of the country which had, in the past, proved to be the grave of ambition of many a king and conqueror. He even hoped to explore a route to China and Pegu and it is possible that the reinforcements referred to by the Dutch surgeon¹⁵ were intended for imperialist expansion in those lands. It is true that the imperial army was isolated for six months, during which it had to undergo endless troubles and privations. But that was due to floods, famine and pestilence, none of which Mir Jumla could have averted. This is to be certainly admitted that his army had never to own defeat at the hands of the Ahoms. It is significant that their over-awed ruler was compelled to write a letter to the Emperor of Delhi, acknowledging submission to his authority, a humiliation unprecedented on the part of any previous Ahom king¹⁶. Mir Jumla's name was long remembered in Assam, as is clear from the couplet associated with in the Assamese Buranjis.¹⁷

Inspired by the memory of their previous successes, the Ahoms entertained hopes of victory over the invaders. Mir Jumla at first did not expect to get correct information of the country from the local *zamindars*. Yet the resistance of the Ahoms was everywhere feeble : they either declined an engagement or were routed with heavy slaughter : the only pitched battles they fought were at Pancharatan and Simlagarh. True, the Ahoms were put to great disadvantage by the pestilence which broke out among the defenders of Jogigupha and by the delay in the arrival of reinforcements to the garrison at Srighat. But if the defenders had held their own firmly till the approach of the rainy season, the Mughals, as Talish himself admits, would not have been able to capture a single fort¹⁸.

The Ahoms were reputed for their courage and military

tactics; they were ever vigilant; like the hearts of their heroes, their forts were "granite-based", and they had men, money and materials necessary for successful prosecution of war. Even Mir Jumla was struck with wonder at the strength of some of their forts especially Simlagarh and at the efficacy of Ahom artillery and gun-powder. But men, arms and ammunitions, provisions and materials did not prove to be of any avail without the guidance of a supreme leader, who alone could infuse a dynamic force into them. The delinquency of king Jayadhwaj of Assam, who fled ignominiously from his capital even before the arrival of the General, earned for him the notorious epithet 'Bhaganiya Raja' or Deserting King. Thus the remarks of Cunningham about the Sikhs during the First Sikh War may be equally applicable to the Ahoms in 1661-62: "Hearts to dare and hands to execute were numerous but there was no mind to guide and animate the whole."¹⁹

The evacuation of the well-fortified posts in Kamrup formed no part of a deliberate policy of strategic retreat, but was the direct outcome of disaffection and defection among the Ahom commanders in charge of the garrisons from the Monas to Gauhati. Incensed at the appropriation of the rich spoils found in Mughal Kamrup by the Ahom captor of Gauhati, Tangchu Sandhikui, the Raja had appointed a non-Ahom, Manthir Bharali Barua, a Hindu Kayastha of the Bejdoloi family, commander-in-chief of the Ahom army and viceroy of lower Assam. This broke the 400-year old exclusive Ahom monopoly of leading commands and offices. So the other hereditary Ahom generals remained sullen and inactive and retreated from fort to fort, remarking: "Let the Bejdoloi now come and fight." The greatest malcontent Ahom noble was the king's father-in-law, Rajshahur Barphukan. Rebelling against the king, he secretly helped Mir Jumla in his advance specially in the Nowgong district.²⁰ Deserters began to stream into the Mughal ranks, after the fall of Simlagarh and evacuation of Samdhara and it was the Ahoms who guided the Mughal General on to Lakhau and Garhgaon,²¹ assisted him in the occupation of villages after the capture of the Ahom capital and in the exhumation of the graves. The unknown Dutch Sailor in Mir Jumla's army did not greatly exaggerate the case, when, in testimony to the loss of morale of

the Ahoms, he observes : "As soon as we were in the Enemy's country, a general consternation seized upon them, and the fame of Nabob's fortune, caused infinite numbers of the Enemy's subjects to come over to his side, as the surest."²² Thus the resistance of the Ahoms was utterly unworthy of their military skill and tradition.

Mir Jumla's tact, just and humane treatment of the Ahom peasantry and prohibition of plunder by the Mughals on the Ahoms, and his instructions to his *thanadars* to endeavour to reconcile the peaceful local people, served to overcome popular opposition. On many occasions it was the local inhabitants, who, terrified at collective slaughter of the contumacious villagers, willingly handed over several leaders to the Mughals. Absconding villagers, who had abandoned their habitations in pursuance of the Ahom policy of starving the invaders, willingly returned and the Mughals continued to get supplies from them. Thus the Assam war could not become a full-fledged people's war. Sometimes Mir Jumla received valuable information about the Ahom Raja's stores also from Muhammadan inhabitants in Assam, especially those of Garhgaon.

Mir Jumla was ably served by a band of resolute lieutenants. like Dilir Khan Daudzai,²³ who proved to be an "associate of victory" everywhere, the ever vigilant Farhad Khan, the resourceful Ibn Husain, the patient Mir Murtaza the humane Mahmud Beg, the dashing Rashid Khan, the discreet Yadgar Khan Uzbeg, besides other faithful officers and captains. Again no other General could have retained such an effective control over his men as Mir Jumla did. His generalship, strategy, discipline, and his sharing of the privations of the war, pestilence and famine with one and all, ensured the unity of command in the Mughal army and general goodwill among the soldiers. His coolness and prudence in times of crisis, his promptitude in the conducting of campaigns and in despatching reinforcements wherever and whenever necessary, his organising skill during the dark days of the rainy season of 1662, all combined to save the vast imperial army from disaster. Mir Jumla was supremely methodical : there was method in his advance, method in his struggling through the rainy season and method in his retreat. His unshakable resolution foiled the ceaseless activities of the

Baduli Phukan and impressed upon the latter the futility of further struggle against him.

Nay, what was more, the Baduli Phukan even deserted his master, joined Mir Jumla, and, raising a local levy of 3 to 4 thousand men, guided the General to Solaguri and Tipam. He was appointed 'Deka-Raja' or Governor of Eastern Assam between Garhgaon and Namrup for promising to capture the King and his chief nobles and hand them over to the Mughals. The plot, however, was scotched by the timely action of Atan Burhagohain. Under Baduli's direction his brother Maupia, who had also joined the Mughals, fought as their commander against his own countrymen at Mekurikhowa but was badly worsted. Baduli's example was followed by Jagatram Deka, Raghunath Majumdar and his son Manohar, Uddhab Duaria and Dangdhara, and others who stipulated "to deliver this country" to Mir Jumla in return of being made "Nawabs along with the Baduli." Mir Jumla tactfully replied : "You shall get what you have desired after I have received tangible proof of your co-operation and support." Even Manthir Bharali Barua himself joined the Mughal General, and promised to make over Jayadhwaj to him after disclosing some secrets. But his conspiracy being detected, he was executed under orders of the king.²⁴

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Mir Jumla's success was won at a high cost, and it entailed, as has been already noted, enormous sufferings on the army. Referring to its pitiable condition during the rainy season of 1662, Talish significantly remarks that "imprisonment by water is harder than imprisonment in iron."²⁵ Moreover, the new acquisitions, the fruits of such sufferings, were lost to the Empire after the Mir's death. Though he cannot be blamed for that, his own *waqi'a navis* names his account "Fathiyya i ibriyya" (Book of Victories which serve as warning).²⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. FI. 159 (return), 160-2, 165 (Kajli), 168-70 (Baritala) ; BDR. (April) 8, 1663) in *Storia*, IV. 430 (Dutch surgeon).

Though all the doctors were agreed that at the beginning the remedy had lain in bleeding, yet they differed on the diagnosis of the disease. Hakim Karima held that it was pleurisy ; according to Hakim Zahir hectic fever developed into consumption ; Mirza Muhammad diagnosed the case to be one of dropsy and ulcer of lungs. Ordinary people and the Assamese believed that the Nawab was enchanted by the shooting of a magical arrow by the Raja. (FI. 169-70).

2. FI. 170-171, 172 (last rites) ; *Cont.* 106b; ZNA. 106; AN. 812, Bernier, 173 ; *Storia*, II. 101 ; BDR. 1663. p. 424 (Sept. 3) in *Storia*, IV. 430 The exact place where Mir Jumla's death took place is not known. Talish only says that it was 4 miles distant from Khizrpur. Two Assamese sources mention Bagaribari (SMAB. 102) and Hola (B. VIII. 95) but they cannot be identified near Khizrpur. The chronogram of his death is given by *Masnad arae Bihist* or 'occupant of paradise,' A.H. 1073.

3. Contemporary European writers concur in stating that Mir Jumla admirably conducted the army to safety in spite of the grave dangers and difficulties like floods, want of provisions, pursuit by the Raja and slaughter by ambuscades of the Ahoms (Bernier, 172 ; Glanvius, 181-2). Manucci observes that while penetration into Assam had been easy, extrication out of it was difficult owing to floods and ambuscades of the people. He apprehended that the Mir 'would be quite used up there' and without his prudence and skilful manoeuvres, his retreat would have been disastrous. (*Storia* ii. 101). But Talish does not say a single word about these dangers during the General's return, except once in the Kajli wilderness and that also about food shortage. He even plainly admits : "If the Assamese had intended treachery, the men of the *thanas* on the road,—none of whom was at a distance of less than one day's journey, would not have performed the said work (of keeping the roads open)." FI. 161-2 ; 160 (Qasim Beg and prohibition of plunder).

4. FI. 156, 161-3.

5. FI. 162 (problems), 163-4 (to Kaliabar), 167 (Dilir).

6. FI. 160, 161; 162. PAB. 128. According to Talish, some Mussalmans and a few Assamese of the Namrup area willingly accompanied the Mughal army. We read in SMAB. 102, that Mir Jumla carried with him about 12,000 Ahoms, including the Ahom deserters. This renders the charge of the Assam chronicles that many Ahoms were taken by the Mughals forcibly (B. VIII. 94-95) very weak. The number of boats conveying the army and the Assamese emigrants probably exceeded 32,000 (FI. 64 ; JBORS. I. 192).

7. SMAB. 102 (boundary dispute); FI. 164 (to Kajli). There were "unlimited and countless herding grounds of strongly built elephants" at Kajli.

8. FI. 164-7 (brother's son of the Raja of Dimarua was asked to send his uncle quickly), 140 (services).

9. FI. 167-8; *Storia*, II. 101 (Hajo); Bernier, 173; B. VIII. 95; SMAB. 102 (hostages); AB. 23; PAB. 129.

10. FI. 168, 170-1.

11. FI. 40-1.

12. *Ibid.*, 57, 59, 52; AN, Vansittart (Asiatic Researches, ii. 179-80).

13. Cf. EI. 3.

14. FI. 28.

15. *Storia*, II. 98; *Storia*, IV. 430.

16. FI. 41-2.

17. "Short and robust Majum Khan, with rounded beard in his face, First will vanquish Cooch Behar, to Gauhati then he'll pace." (SMAB. 92). Cf. *Storia*. II. 101; *vide Aurangzib*, III. 180-1 n.

18. SMAB. xxii (hopes of victory); FI. 18-19 (information), 24 (fear among Ahoms).

19. Testimony of Mulla Darvish of Herat regarding the Ahoms as fighters, in FI. 52-3, 60, 65 (JBORS. I. 184, 189, 192-3); JIH. V. 371; Delinquency of the Ahom king, in JIH. V. 371-73; Cunningham, HS. 357.

20. SMAB. 93-4, xxii (disaffection among Ahom nobles); AB. 19, 20.

21. For Ahom guides, BKK. 674-5.

22. Glanius, 150 (loss of morale)

23. MU. Eng. Tr. I. 498.

24. SMAB. 97-98, lxix, xxiii; AB. 21. "Half the men left the king," acc. to BKK. II 6-8 (list of deserters). PAB. 126. Baduli Phukan, apprehending punishment, left his own country with his family along with Mughals to Bengal and was allotted a pargana of Rs. 3000/— near Dacca. Through him some discontented Ahom officials carried on a treasonable correspondence with the Mughal governor of Dacca. Bhuyan, *Atan*, 33.

25. FI. 3.

26. *Ibid*, 5.

Character and Achievement

1. Mir Jumla's Place in History

Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla was one of the remarkable personalities in the 17th century history of India. The author of the *Qutbnuma i 'Alam* significantly observes, "What he did was written on the page of Time." An enterprising, ambitious and self-made man, he passed through various vicissitudes of fortune, which enabled him to bestride the sub-continent of India and influence its history from the Karnatak to Delhi and from Khandesh to Assam and even to get a share of the maritime commerce of India. Son of a Persian adventurer, migrating to Golkonda as a fortune-seeker, he rose, by dint of his unrivalled abilities, and through successive stages, from the post of the Keeper of Records to that of the Governor of Masulipatam and finally to the exalted office of Wazir of the Golkonda State. Deputed by its Sultan to conquer the Karnatak on his behalf, the Mir practically enjoyed 'regal independence' in his conquests, and became in effect the first Nawab of the Karnatak. Then he transferred his allegiance to Shahjahan, who appointed him the *Diwan i Kul* of the Mughal Empire. For some time, under Aurangzeb, he acted as Governor of Khandesh and finally as Viceroy of the important province of Bengal.

Mir Jumla's active career in India, extending for well-nigh thirty years, synchronised with the rapid dissolution of the Vijaynagar Empire. Though it had survived the shock of the

so-called battle of Talikota in 1565, it failed to overcome the process of disintegration and fast crumbled to pieces in the 17th century. Torn by repeated wars of succession in which its nobles and *nayaks* participated and enfeebled by the growing weakness of the central government, the rise of the several Nayaks, chiefly those of Madura, Jinji and Tanjore, the lack of union due to mutual jealousy and bad faith, the conflict between the Tamil and Kanarese elements in its population, the kingdom of Chandragiri could not present a united front to the Muslim invaders; and the Rayal, in spite of continued resistance, found his dominions slipping away from his grasp one after another. The combination of all these forces rendered the course of political history extremely complicated, and the kaleidoscopic changes in the relations of the Rayal and the Nayaks *inter se* and in their system of alliances with one or another of the invading forces which were determined purely by temporary or transient considerations of self-interest, were further confused by the intervention of the European trading companies in the troubled affairs of the Deccan.

Mir Jumla undoubtedly was responsible for accelerating the decline of the Vijaynagar Empire. Barred in their northward advance by the Mughal partition treaties of May-June, 1636, the two Deccani Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda could find a free outlet for their aggressive instincts only in the southern and eastern directions across the Krishna and the Tungabhadra at the expense of the numerous, petty and warring fragments of the moribund Vijaynagar Empire which covered the Karnatak from the Krishna to Tanjore beyond the Kaveri. In this Muhammadan conquest of the Karnatak Mir Jumla played a very important role on behalf of his master, Sultan Qutb Shah of Golkonda.

Aurangzeb, the ambitious Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, was not the man to remain as an idle spectator of this scramble for the rich heritage of Vijaynagar. He was waiting for an opportunity and a pretext to swallow up the Karnatak. These came with Mir Jumla's rebellion against his first master. By inducing the Emperor Shahjahan to offer protection to the rebel vassal against the revenge of the Sultan of Golkonda, Aurangzeb paved the way for the absorption, at one stroke, of Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions in the Mughal Empire.

Both Shahjahan and Aurangzeb wanted to utilise Mir Jumla's unrivalled qualities of military leadership and unsurpassed knowledge of the Deccan affairs for their own imperialistic purposes. The loss of Qandahar to the Persians in 1649 and the failure of three expeditions to recover it from them during the next three years had left a rankling sore in the mind of Emperor Shahjahan. He hoped to retrieve his own prestige and to tarnish the military fame of Persia, then at its height, by deputing this peerless Persian general to the task of recovering Qandahar. Mir Jumla might succeed where Sadullah, Aurangzeb and Dara had failed. But Mir Jumla diverted the Emperor's attention from the North-West to the Deccan, and induced him to give up the Qandahar expedition and to sanction the plan of conquering Bijapur. Mir Jumla's counsel was considered worth acceptance, as he was conversant with the ins and outs of the Deccan Courts. Thus it was Mir Jumla who was the principal instigator of the Bijapur Campaign of 1657-8. Further, as the ally, confidential adviser and General of Aurangzeb during the War of Succession, the Mir was largely responsible for securing the throne for Aurangzeb as against Shuja'. Again, it was solely due to Mir Jumla's generalship and through his conquest of Kuch Bihar and Assam that the north-eastern push of the Mughal empire reached its logical culmination.

If Mir Jumla's military contributions to the Mughal Empire were substantial and solid, his influence on contemporary Mughal court politics was significant. At that time one of the principal factors which influenced Delhi politics was the long-standing rivalry between the liberal and pacifist Dara, favourably disposed towards the Shia States of the Deccan, and the orthodox and militant Aurangzeb, intent on their annexation to the Empire. Consequently, Mughal policy under Shahjahan often vacillated between the two extreme points represented by these two princes. He was swayed sometimes by the one and sometimes by the other. Thus the Golkonda campaign of 1656 owed its inception to Aurangzeb's diplomacy. But the conclusion of peace was effected as a result of Dara's machinations. Aurangzeb eagerly clung to Wazir Mir Jumla after the death of Wazir Sadullah, one of his adherents. Indeed, Mir Jumla's appointment as Wazir meant the victory of the aggressive policy of Aurangzeb

and the discrediting, for sometime at least, of the peace policy of Dara in the Emperor's council. The Bijapur campaign of 1657-58, sanctioned by the Emperor under the influence of Mir Jumla, was abruptly concluded at Dara's intercessions.

The career of Mir Jumla is significant not only for the student of political and diplomatic history but it is also of absorbing interest to the student of the economic history of India. His mining activities made him the owner of twenty maunds of diamonds. His economic system was based on the monopoly of the articles of food and clothing, both in the Karnatak and in Bengal. Master of a growing mercantile marine, he carried on overseas trade with Western Asia and the East Indies. The importance of his activities in the commercial history of the period,—marked by the fall of Vijaynagar, the decline of the Portuguese maritime empire, and the advent of the Dutch and the English in the Asiatic Seas,—lay in the fact that before the last two could displace the Portuguese as the carriers of India's oceanic trade, Mir Jumla, the Persian, took a large share in the maritime trade of Vijaynagar and became a keen competitor first of the Dutch and subsequently of the English. They dreaded his influence but courted his favour. Mir Jumla's association with the East Coast lasted till his end.

2. Mir Jumla as a man

Though there is no detailed contemporary description of the figure and personality of the man, whose history has been traced in the preceding pages, incidental references in certain contemporary sources enable us to form some idea of these. We read in a general report sent to Aurangzeb by Muhammad Mumin, the Mughal ambassador to Mir Jumla in 1653-54, that he possessed "a pleasing countenance" and "a medium stature". A decade later Assamese accounts described him as "short and robust Majum Khan with a rounded beard on his face." While fighting the battle near Belghata during the War of Succession, Mir Jumla put on a coat of mail and a cap made of Chinese steel and carried two swords, a shield, a quiver and a long bow (*Kaman Kiyān*). When on horseback he, with his wrinkled forehead and an angry mien, looked like Azar gashp.¹

Though an adventurer, Mir Jumla was a polished man of high education, well-versed in the Quran and the *Hadith* and with full command over the Persian language. His correspondence bears clear evidence of his erudition and scholarship. At Golkonda he belonged to the literary circle of its Peshwa, Nawab 'Allami Fahmi Shaikh Muhammad. Rightly does Shihabuddin Talish describe him "as a master of the sword and the pen." He was an excellent speaker too. Possessed of fine gifts of oratory and a superb mastery over mob psychology, he delivered a spirited speech before the vacillating imperial army at Dogachi after the desertion of the Prince. He modulated his tone of expression to make his arguments effective according to the needs of the hour. He had some knowledge of medicine too, and we find him taking Jewish bitumen himself during his last illness.²

Trained in the school of adversity, Mir Jumla developed certain sterling qualities of character which contributed immensely to his future success in life, viz., strong determination, self-reliance, ambition, enterprise, thrift, quickness of apprehension and ability to make the best use of any situation or station in life. A man of varied interests, ranging from shoes to diamonds, and from trade to war and government, and dealing with various peoples, the Hindu Tamils and Telugus, the Muhammadan Deccanis and Mughals, the Dutch, the English, the Portuguese and the Danes, he was polite and amiable in his dealings with others.³ Bowrey truly observes: "He was an absolute lover and a most indulgent Prince to all Ingenuous men, very charitable and a real lover of the English nation, all in general (that ever knew him) were Enamoured with his perfections, and a great many admired him in a great measure, Esteeming him as the glorious mirror of all Princely Graces."⁴ Tavernier bears witness to his hospitality and sociability. At Gandikota (3rd September, 1652, NS), the Mir received Tavernier and his party well enquiring if they had been "comfortably housed" and supplied with food and fodder for their horses. He offered them betel, two bottles of wine, one Spanish and the other of Shiraz, which was rare in India, and invited them to dinner and a hunting excursion⁵.

Mir Jumla was a man of deep religious convictions, as is

clear from his intention to go to Mecca after the conquest of Gandikota and from his last wishes. The *Poem* describes him as *dinpanah* (protector of religion). We get an inkling of his experiments with spiritualism from his letters to Mirza Jalal, in which he describes himself as his "religious brother" and seeks his guidance. On his return from Mathurapur to Garhgaon in Assam, he halted at a royal palace to offer his prayers. He had a supreme conviction in the existence of God and belief in a future life. After the dreadful loss of lives in fording the river Mahananda south of Bholahat, Mir Jumla is said to have exclaimed: "What justification shall I offer to God and the Prophet? Without God's mercy I shall certainly go to hell." During the critical skirmish at Dogachi, he prayed to God to save "the honour of his white beard," and assured his soldiers that as "a descendant of the Prophet and 'Ali" he would never flee from the field.⁶ He was a fatalist too. During the above mentioned skirmish, he encouraged and exhorted his soldiers to fight saying that men would live so long as they were fated to do, and that they could not die of war, unless it was so decreed. His letter of condolence to Nawab Mustafa Khan of Bijapur on the death of the latter's eldest son clearly illustrates his spirit of resignation to divine will. 'Time,' he wrote, 'inflicts some wounds on man's mind. One comes before another is healed up.....Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. We have to be patient.....The decrees of Fate cannot be annulled even with the greatest human endeavour.'⁷

There were, however, as is usual with most men, some weaknesses in Mir Jumla's character. He was not altogether free from vanity. On his way from Haidarabad to Delhi in 1656, Aurangzeb complained to Mir Jumla that Shah Jahan was the father of Dara, while he, on his side, could never find 'a kindlier father' than the Mir and accepted him as his guardian or 'protector'. This language puffed up Mir Jumla, who became 'very friendly' with the Prince and pledged his word 'to support him with his entire strength and his life.' Sometimes his egotism proved to be a cause of his discomfiture. Elated with his initial success in the campaign against Shuja' in Bengal, he committed a grave mistake in despising the enemy and not taking due precaution regarding the latter's movements or

against his strength, with the result that he met with a signal failure on 3rd May, 1659.⁸

3. Mir Jumla as a statesman

Mir Jumla possessed in the fullest measure all those qualities which go to make a successful minister of state. His intelligence, foresight, penetrating discernment and administrative experience won for him the epithets of the Asaf of the Age (*Asaf ud dauran*), and the 'Plato of the Age' and he came to be compared to Khizr.⁹ A man of infinite capacity, indefatigable industry, and fine organising skill, and master of even the minutest details, he could exercise a careful supervision over different aspects of the administration and be thorough, prompt and efficient in the discharge of administrative duties.¹⁰ In *Maasir ul Umara*, he is justly described as "without a peer among the contemporary nobles" for his great administrative abilities and various other qualities. Tavernier, an eye-witness, pays a tribute of admiration to Mir Jumla's consummate ability: "I have had occasion to speak to him several times, and I have admired the firmness and the promptitude with which he responded to requests presented to him, giving his orders in every direction, and signing several despatches as if he had but one sole matter to attend to."¹¹ His rebellion against Sultan Qutb Shah of Golkonda and his advice to Aurangzeb during the Bijapur campaign and on the eve of the commencement of the War of Succession illustrate his marvellous foresight, efficiency, cool calculation and discretion. Shrewd, tactful and possessed of "requisite prudence" and power of concealing secrets,¹² Mir Jumla was indeed a "fit servant" for Aurangzeb.¹³

European writers like Bernier and Tavernier have accused Mir Jumla of treachery.¹⁴ It is true that he deserted two out of his three masters in India. But the mere fact of change of loyalties does not prove that he was innately treacherous. His open desertion of Sultan Qutb Shah was not due to any sinister motive nourished in secret, but to the primary need of self-preservation against a wrathful and capricious master, bent on his destruction. Also, in his failure to respond to the imperial summons, legally tantamount to desertion of Emperor Shah-

jahan, he was impelled by the same desire of self-preservation, besides adherence to his pledge to Aurangzeb. There is, however, no doubt, that his actions were sometimes characterised by opportunism, secretiveness and duplicity, but resort to diplomatic trickery at times of the gravest danger to one's own life, family or property should not be construed as sins of commission, especially when his opponents were unscrupulous and formidable.¹⁵ As a matter of fact, when circumstances were not opposed to him, Mir Jumla was sincere and honest, and his promises could be implicitly relied on. Before his estrangement from Qutb Shah, he did serve that Sultan faithfully and the latter also described him as his "chosen and fortunate servant, giving satisfaction to whom would mean keeping the Sultan pleased."¹⁶ Though he loyally served the cause of Aurangzeb since his appointment to the imperial service, he never gave Shahjahan any reason to regret the confidence reposed in him. Further, his fidelity towards Aurangzeb may be tested by the touchstone of the latter's implicit confidence in his counsel and judgment, especially during the Bijapur campaign and the War of Succession. At Khajwa he was the confidential adviser and right-hand man of Aurangzeb.¹⁷ Even in distant Bengal Mir Jumla is not known as having ever harboured any disloyal or ambitious designs. On the other hand, he was steadfast in his devotion to Aurangzeb and even selfless in his endeavours in the cause of the empire which ultimately wore him out. Rightly does the Rozbihani follower of Mir Jumla describe him as *Rukn ul Khilafat* (pillar of the Empire) and the 'best of all councillors'. In a similar strain Talish calls him 'the prop of supreme royalty'. Indeed, Mir Jumla was honoured with so many titles that he was aptly described as "Independent of Titles" (*mustaghni alqab*).¹⁸

As an administrator, Mir Jumla was undoubtedly handicapped by some unfavourable circumstances beyond his control. Almost everywhere his government was necessarily of a military nature, concerned with increasing the financial resources and attempting to maintain law and order, but otherwise continuing the older system with little or no modification. In the Karnatak he was at first pre-occupied with pressing military problems and considerations of self-defence, and subsequently to 1656 he was

an absentee proprietor. From Bengal, too, he had to be absent for nearly half the term of his viceroyalty. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that everywhere his government was strict, thorough and methodical. In the conquered countries consolidation kept pace with conquest and Mir Jumla very wisely followed the policy of combining firmness with moderation. By adequately providing for the welfare of the ryots and strictly enforcing his orders against oppression and plunder on the part of the soldiery, Mir Jumla earned a great reputation as a man of integrity and impartial justice,¹⁹ and as a protector of subjects. In fact, the salutary influence of his character and personality contributed to the peculiar excellence of his government. After his departure from the Karnatak there were the "Hindu Revolt" and the friction of his officers with the English factors. His absence from Kuch Bihar was followed by the oppression on the part of the local officers which excited the people there to throw off the Mughal yoke. The removal of his eagle-eyed supervision from Bengal caused a general wave of laxity and disorder in that province. The infusion of a new spirit of discipline and efficiency into the administration was indeed the most remarkable achievement of Mir Jumla, who also deserves much for his laudable attempt to secure the reconciliation of the peasants and other subjects to his rule.

Mir Jumla has to his credit some public works of utility, both in the Deccan and in Bengal. Permanent traces of his influence in this respect were comparatively few in Northern India because of his shorter stay there than in the Deccan. Telingana, where he lived long, contained some of his memorials. A tank, a garden and a mansion at Haidarabad bore his name. Sa'idabad, a village 16 miles distant from Haidarabad grew under his care and patronage and came to be known as the *petta* of Mir Jumla. The Mir not only improved the condition of the road leading to the Gandikota fort, but also constructed some building of the fort, including the Jama' masjid. A brick-built bridge, constructed under Mir Jumla's orders over the Pagla river near Dacca in Bengal struck Tavernier as "a fine" construction (January 13, 1666. N.S).²⁰

4. Mir Jumla as a General

Great as an administrator, Mir Jumla was also a general of superior calibre. Tavernier describes him as "one of the greatest captains who had ever migrated from Persia to India." The historian Aqil Khan is not guilty of any exaggeration when he writes that the Mir was "experienced in the art of generalship, the chief among the veterans in the realm of command and conversant with the laws of conquering countries." The Rozbihani follower of Mir Jumla rightly calls him the *Sipahdar i pir* and "the best of soldiers." Bowrey describes him as "a great and politic warrior."²¹ Combining intrepidity with wisdom, energy with caution and resolution with efficiency, Mir Jumla made quick decisions and enforced them promptly. The unnamed Dutch sailor, writing of Mir Jumla's campaign in Assam, pays a great compliment to his tenacity of purpose and unflinching zeal by observing that "the greatness of the danger served only to heighten his courage." Again disaster spurred him on to make greater effort to realise his aims. After his failure at the frontal assault on 'Shuja at Suti in May, 1659, Mir Jumla is said to have avowed, "If I fail to avenge my heroes, then I am not a true descendant of the Prophet." His stubborn fight during the skirmish at Dogachi against heavy odds threw Shuja' into despair. The latter is said to have exclaimed in great dismay, if we can believe the Rozbihani poet, "I have not seen such a man in war; he is like Plato in wisdom and like Rustam in bravery.....With such a general, I could have easily conquered the whole world. God has given such a wise guide to Aurangzeb, because He wills to make him Emperor."²² Mir Jumla's Jinji campaign²³ makes it clear that he did not allow his discretion to be overpowered by sentiment or a false sense of honour.

Mir Jumla was a past master of the art of hitting upon right strategical moves. Whenever possible, he preferred to rely more on policy and skill than on open fight. In dissuading Prince Muhammad Sultan from launching a direct assault on Teliyagarhi, he observed: "Why should you allow men to be slain in a task which can be accomplished by strategy"? The plan of encircling the enemy by turning round his flank, as at Monghyr, Sahibganj and in Malda, and also that of a double attack on

the enemy, illustrated in the Golkonda campaign of 1655-6, and in the two-pronged offensive against Shuja', are clear proofs of his brilliant strategy in war. But, though averse to unnecessary loss of life, he did not shrink from a plan, involving heavy casualties,—as in the fording of the river Mahananda,—when he was convinced that it was the decisive move of the campaign east of the Ganges.²⁴

Though a strict disciplinarian, Mir Jumla knew how to retain the confidence and loyalty of his captains and privates, by his liberal and sympathetic treatment of them. If he was stern to the negligent or to those guilty of oppression, plunder and rape, he encouraged the dutiful persons by timely praise, promotion and rewards. His courage and presence of mind enabled him to exercise a strong hold over his men as is illustrated after the flight of Prince Muhammad Sultan. Indeed, "he was," as Tavernier writes, "both feared and beloved by the army."²⁵

The General was not devoid of humane feelings. After the battle near Belghata and Giria he expressed his grief for Ekkatāz, a promising young warrior, than about to die of his wounds, and sent for a physician. After fording the river south of Bholahat, the General spent a whole day in giving the dead a decent burial, even at the risk of delay which enabled Shuja' to escape from Tanda. On the eve of the Assam campaign, Mir Jumla informed the master of a Dutch ship that he would retain with him three Dutch boys who were "too young to serve in the army." During that campaign Mir Jumla shared all the privations and hardships with the common soldier. From the beginning of his march from Khizrpur till his return from Assam this "magnanimous" General, the lord of 20 maunds of diamonds, did not ride on any beast except a pony. During the period of famine in the camp, he refused to partake of his additional stock of delicacies, and "like ordinary men ate no article save *dal i mash* (vetch), coagulated milk and boiled rice, and occasionally expressed a desire to take beef, in order that he might be the sharer and partner of his (helpless) dependents in.....privation and suffering."²⁶ Commenting on the greatness of Mir Jumla's character, Sir J.N. Sarkar rightly observes : "No other General of that age conducted war with so much humanity and justice, nor kept his soldiers privates and

captains alike, under such discipline; no other General could have retained to the last, the confidence and even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers."²⁷ The unnamed Dutch sailor aptly describes Mir Jumla as "a wise and valiant captain, the soldiers' darling and the People's favourite."²⁸ He did not forget to consider favourably the condition of his slaves, for whose liberation he left instructions with the Mir Bakhshi on the eve of his death.²⁹

As a general, Mir Jumla first made his mark in his conquest of the Karnatak, where his almost unbroken record of victories was marred only by his failure at Jinji and during the war with Adil Shah over the partition of the Karnatak. Though the Bijapur campaign of 1657—'8 was launched at his initiative, his role was not that of the supreme commander. If he failed to secure the cession of Parenda from the Bijapuris after the conclusion of peace, the fault was not his, for circumstances beyond his control were operating against him. But it must be admitted that he committed an error of judgment in persisting in his efforts to secure that fort. His conducting of the War of Succession against Shuja' to a successful close in Bihar and Bengal was brilliant beyond doubt, the only reverse suffered by the Mir being that of 3rd May, 1659. In his last but most brilliant campaign, that directed against Kuch Bihar and Assam, he exhibited wonderful feats of fortitude and bravery. Though confronted with the severest odds, his army, ably guided by him, was not even once defeated by the Ahoms.

Mir Jumla's military achievements are succinctly set forth in an ode written by Mulla Darvesh of Heart in praise of the conquest of Assam³⁰.

The rank—shattering warrior, the captor of forts
and conqueror of realms (i.e., Mir Jumla)
Revived anew the forgotten tale of
The "Seven stages" which had been sung
by the Philosopher (Firdausi) in the *Shahnama*
And which had been gone through by Isfandiyar and
Rustam,
The face of Fortune, the heart of Valour

and the arm of victory,
 Conqueror of realms, bestower of Kingdoms
 and ornament of the world,
 The Khan-i-khanan, Commander-in-chief,
 leader of armies, whom, by way of honour,
 The Emperor gave the title of 'Faithful Friend,'
 That peer of royal dignity, that Sayyid
 possessed of the characteristics of his ancestors,
 The back of Persia, the cheek of India,
 the head of the kingdom of God,—
 He is a Mustafa charged with divine
 instruction and guidance after that (chosen one,
 Muhammad);
 He is a Murtaza (in) the keenness of his
 Sword and spear in the day of battle.

5. Mir Jumla as a diplomat

Mir Jumla played a conspicuous role in the history of India for about three decades as a business magnate, a minister and a general, and most prominently of all as a remarkably successful diplomat. The unnamed Dutch sailor truly calls him "a great politician."³¹ Like Bismarck performing the juggler's feat of tossing five balls at a time, Mir Jumla could carry on intrigues successfully with several powers, far and near, without in any way compromising his own honour, even during the highly critical period of his rebellion against Sultan Qutb Shah. Yet he could retain his freedom of action and lean on any one power as he thought expedient, could play off one against another and succeed in improving his own diplomatic position.³²

Mir Jumla's diplomacy was certainly a great factor in Mughal imperial history. Indeed, it may be affirmed without any exaggeration that he towered above all his contemporaries in India as regards his diplomatic acumen and sagacity. Even Aurangzeb, so well-known for his astuteness and craft, yielded the palm to this Persian adventurer in this respect, and since the latter's enlistment in the imperial service, looked up to him for advice in all matters as his friend, philosopher and guide. It was to the Mir, then Wazir of the Mughal Empire, that Aurangzeb,

then Viceroy of the Deccan, appealed for pulling his chestnuts out of the fire of imperial wrath and the Crown-Prince's counter-intrigues. Dara was outwitted at almost every step by Aurangzeb's faithful adherent. It was Mir Jumla who persuaded Shahjahan to confer the Karnatak, then included within the Empire, as a jagir on himself. It was Mir Jumla who rejected Aurangzeb's scheme of a second Golkonda campaign, took the initiative in launching the Bijapur campaign, induced the Emperor to give up the Qandahar expedition and to sanction the plan for the invasion of Bijapur and secured for Aurangzeb absolute authority in conducting it, by counteracting Dara's hostile moves. It was Mir Jumla who dexterously succeeded in foiling Dara's manoeuvres to isolate him from Aurangzeb on the eve of the War of Succession, and saved himself and his family from Dara's vengeance. Again, it was Mir Jumla's diplomacy which minimised the danger threatening Aurangzeb from the defection of Jaswant Singh at the battle of Khajwa.³³ Thus, during 1656-58 Mir Jumla dominated the diplomatic history of India like a Colossus, whose one foot was at Delhi and the other in the Karnatak.

6. Mir Jumla's failure as a constructive force

The Rozbihani eulogist has tried to indicate Mir Jumla's importance to Aurangzeb by observing that he was to the latter what Aristotle was to Alexander.³⁴ Though Mir Jumla was a very helpful officer of Aurangzeb, yet it is not possible to agree with this over-estimate of his personality. It is also difficult to avoid the conclusion that Mir Jumla failed to be a constructive force in the history of the Mughal Empire. For one thing, he lacked in high idealism, though he had efficiency, wisdom and foresight. For another, it was a distinct loss to the State that the Wazir of the Mughal Empire was a partisan; he was nothing but the agent of the Viceroy of the Deccan, who was irreconcilably opposed to the Crown Prince. Thus personal considerations overbore the greater interests of the empire. Moreover, the lack of differentiation between the civil and military functions constantly diverted him from the arts of peace to the more alluring prospects of war and conquest. Again, Aurangzeb, once established on the

throne, had begun to harbour feelings of suspicion against this "over-mighty" subject.³ Thus the conjunction of these two able and intelligent personalities did not usher in any progressive force within the Empire. In all probability, had a longer life been vouchsafed to Mir Jumla, in the pacific years of Aurangzeb's reign the Shiah creed of the Mir would have silently but inexorably made a widening breach between him and his orthodox Sunni master, and reduced him to obscurity if not to nullity.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Adab*, 39 a; SMAB. 92; *Poem*, 332 (white beard). For references to portraits of Mir Jumla, see Bibliography, Sec. G.
2. Correspondence, Tabrezi, 74b, 77b, 78a-b, 79a; Pr. IHRC. (1942) 197; Power of his pen in MM. 9b; Literary circle, HS. 361; Pr. IHC. (1940). 266-7; FI. 2: GD; Speech, *Poem*, 190-4; See *ante*, Ch. V. Sec. C. sub-sec. 6; Illness, Ch. VII. Sec. E; See also QSD. ch. 6. Sec. 5
3. Thevenot, 102 (ambition), Bowrey. 152n (thrift); *Adab*, 39a (politeness); the English factors sometimes spoke ill of Mir Jumla (cf. "a miserable covetous person; a friend to the Dutch " EFI. X. 205). But they, were, as Sir William Foster truly observes, "prejudiced witnesses" (*ibid.*, 4-5). Indeed Mir Jumla showed due civility and reasonable attitude towards the Bengal factors (*ibid.*, 286, 288). See also *ante*, Ch. 2 Sec. C.
4. Bowrey, 144-5.
5. Ball's Tavernier, I. 286-7, 293.
6. Tabrezi, 67a-68a (Mecca), 78a-b (Mirza Jalal); FI. 134 (prayer); *Poem*, 271 (*dinpanah*), 480f (fording), 364-5 (Dogachi).
7. *Poem*, 364-5 (Dogachi), 205-6; Tabrezi, 74b (letter to Mustafa).
8. *Storia*, I. 236-7 (Mir Jumla won over by Aurangzeb), ch. V. Sec. C. sub-sec. 3 (failure of May). The Ahom Buranjis also bear evidence to Mir Jumla's vanity (PB. IHQ. V. 475).
9. HS. 530, 535 (Asaf); *Poem*, 142-5 (Khizr); 125, 361 (Plato). John Campbell describes him as "the wisest man in Hindustan." (IA. 1906. p. 133).
10. For industry *vide* Ch. I. sub-sec. 3 *ante* (construction of Hayat Mahal Palace) and Ch. V. *ante* (exertion at Malda); for prompt discharge of administrative duties, Ch. II. Sec. B. *ante* (trial of criminals at Gandikota).
11. MU. III. 555; Ball, I. 170. Ch. II. Sec. B. sub-sec. 2 contains further accounts of Mir Jumla by Tavernier.

12. *Storia*, I. 237; cf. Aurangzeb's observation: "I have not seen any efficient person like Mir Jumla. In wisdom he excels Kings; in bravery he resembles Gudarz and Piran." *Poem*, 279-80. Gudarz was one of the kings of the Ashkanian dynasty. Piran was one of the generals of Afrasiyab. Dow rightly remarks, (III. 327) "He was calculated for the intrigues of the cabinet as well as for the stratagems of the field."

13. Bruce, II. 33; cf. Dow's observation (III. 182), that Aurangzeb "found him, upon trial, a fit instrument for his ambition."

14. Ball, I. 357-9, 360, 362; Bernier, 169-70; Thevenot, Ch. 8. 102; *Storia*, II. 102, 289.

15. Ch. III. *ante* (for rebellion against Qutb Shah); Ch. IV. Sec. 4 (for defiance of imperial summons); *Adab*, 39 (duplicity).

16. Tabrezi, 35a-36a.

17. EFI. X. 4-5: AN (Khajwa): Ball, I. 170. cf. *Storia*, II. 101-102 (fidelity).

18. *Poem*, 134-8; cf. Aurangzeb's *farman* to Mir Jumla and Mir's reply, *ibid.*, 269-75, 276-79; FI. 2-3. The *Maasir ul Umara*, (III. 555) describes him as the maker of princes.

19. Jesson, the English factor at Agra wrote to the Surat authorities (15th August, 1656) about Mir Jumla "Tis reported hee does good justice..." EFI. X. 71.

20. MU. III. 555; QN. 90; MM. 7a-10b (palace at Haidarabad, 1641, *vide* Ch. I. *ante*. fn. 13); Waris, 110a (Saidabad); Crooke's Tavernier, I. 120. Ball, I. 284, and ASR. (1930-34). pp. 42-3 (Gandikota); Ball, I. 128-9 (bridge near Dacca). For the Gandikôta mosque, "one of the largest mosques," in the Madras Presidency, *vide* ASR. 1935-36, p 25, and pl. VII d; ASR. 1908-9, p 27 For Mir Jumla's construction of the road from Dacca to Mymensingh and the bridge on it at Tongi, see *Dacca Dt. Gaz.* 30; OAILPB. 82-83.

21. Ball, I. 357; ZNA. 105; *Poem*, 142-5, 136-8; Bowrey, 137; MU III. 555.

22. Glanius, 149 ("a man of dispatch"), 150. cf. Aurangzeb's *farman*, in *Poem*, 269-75 (unflinching); 167-74 (Suti), 365-73 (Dogächî).

23. *ante*. Ch. 2. Sec. A. sub-sec. 3.

24. *Poem*, 147-48 (Teliyagarhi); *ante*, Ch. V. Sec. B sub-sec. 3 (Mon-ghyr), sub-sec. 5 (Sahibganj), Sec. E 2, sub-sec. 4 (Malda); Ch. III. sub-sec. 5 (Golkonda campaign), Ch. V. Sec. C sub-sec. 5 (offensive against Shuja); Ch. V. Sec. E sub-sec. 4 (fording).

25. Good conduct, *Adab*, 39a; rebuke to Zulfiqâr, *Poem* 202-6; praise, 143 FI. 112; Ball, I. 357.

26. *Poem*, 345-8 (Ekkataz); Ch. V. Sec. E. sub-sec. 5. (burial); Glanius. (Dutch boys); FI. 11-12 (pony), 137-8 (famine).

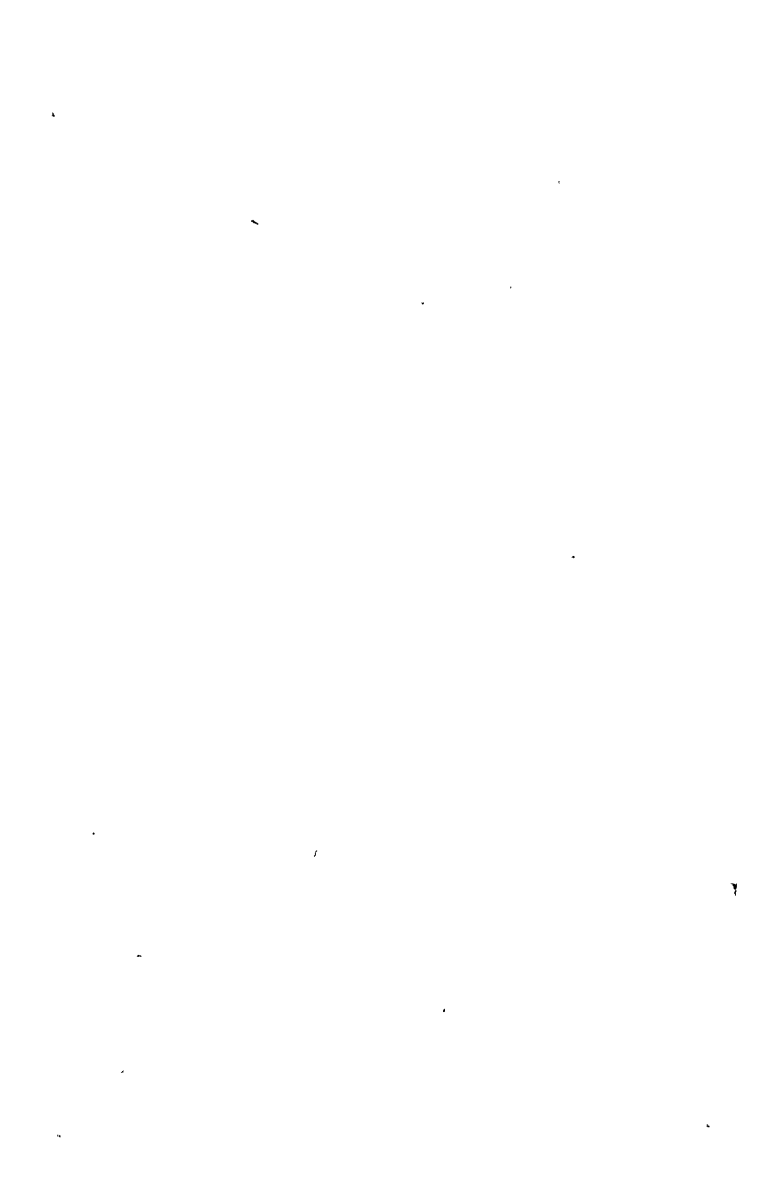
27. *Aurangzib*, III. 181.

28. Glanius, 177.

29. FI. 170. Sec *ante*, Ch. VII. Sec. E. sub-sec. 1.

30. FI. 52; JBORS. I. 183.

31. Glanvius, 177.
32. JBRS. XXX. 248 ; *vide ante* Ch. 3. for Mir Jumla's diplomatic intrigues.
33. *ante* Ch. Secs. B and C (the Karnatak, Golkonda and Bijapur) ; Sec. D (War of Succession) ; Ch. V. Sec A (Khajwa).
34. *Poem*, 415-23. cf. Bowrey, 137.
35. BDR. (3rd September, 1663) in AA. 292a ; Bernier, 173 ; Bowrey, 144-5 ; *Storia*, II. 102.



APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

Date of the Karnatak Partition Agreement

According to Col. Mackenzie the partition took place about 1636. He attributes the conclusion of the partition agreement between Golkonda and Bijapur to the following reasons : (i) the gradual penetration of the Mughal arms into the south ; (ii) the willingness of the Rayal to embrace Islam and thus to get imperial protection from the two Sultanates ; and (iii) the desire of the latter to strengthen their resources by total subjugation of the lesser Hindu States in the rear. (JASB, XIII, 1844, ff 445-61 and n). But this is not supported by the new facts mentioned.

In the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission (January, 1942), I published a letter of Qutb Shah to Shahjahan, contained in Tabrezi's *Golkonda Letters*¹. It runs as follows: "I have already informed you before that the *zamindars* of Jinji and Tanjore sought help from me. I hope your Majesty would order the division of their countries in the proportion of 1/3:2/3 as arranged in the '*ahdnama*..... When the truth of the violation of the agreement signed faithfully by 'Adil Shah became known to the late Islam Khan.....it was considered advisable that the terms of the agreement might be modified... The imperial orders are to be obeyed as if they are divine. Previously your Majesty had gone for *shikar* to Kabul and I had agreed to this division and an imperial *wakil* had gone to the Karnatak for division. Then the above mentioned Nawab (Islam Khan) died and 'Adil Shah found an opportunity to violate the agreement and sent many wazirs under Shahji to help the Hindus in the Karnatak....."

This letter enables us to fix the approximate date of the conclusion of the partition agreement between Bijapur and

Golkonda. From *Padshahnama*² it appears that during the Central Asiatic campaign, the Emperor left Lahore for Kabul on Safar 18, 1056 (26th March, 1646). There is a description on *shikar* on the bank of the Chenab on 4 Rabiulawwal (10th April, 1646). The Emperor returned from Kabul to Lahore on 9 Shaban, 1056 (10th September, 1646). Again Islam Khan, the Mughal Subadar of the Deccan, died on 18th November, 1647³. Thus it would appear that the partition was made between March-April, 1646. Another journey of the Emperor from Lahore to Kabul was made on Safar 18, 1057 (15th March, 1647), but there is no mention of *shikar* now.⁴ He left Kabul for India on 30 Rajab, 1057, (21st Augsut, 1647).⁵

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Tabrezi, 5a-7a ; Pr. JHRC. XVIII. 204-5. n 55.
2. BI. II. 500-1, 509.
3. Waris. I. 6a. For Islam Khan Mashhadi, MU. Text. I. 162-7 ; Tr. I. 694-6.
4. PN. BI. 637-42.
5. Waris. I. 4a.

APPENDIX B

Date of the Conquest of Gandikota by Mir Jumla

Tavernier cites 24th August, 1652, as the date of Mir Jumla's occupation of Gandikota. He says that the fort was occupied by Mir Jumla after three months' siege only 8 days before his visit (1st September, 1652)¹. But a critical study of European factory records, Persian and Telugu sources proves this incorrectness of this date. This shows that Gandikota was originally conquered by Mir Jumla in the spring of 1650. A Madras letter dated 18th January, 1651, states that in September last a Dutch mission was sent to the Nawab "at Gandikota (.....subdued by his resolution, against the opinion of all men, the last spring)." Sir William Foster writes that "notwithstanding the positive statement in the text there is some doubt as to the date of the capture of the fortress. A Dutch letter (Hague Tr. series I, Vol. XVII, no. 518) seems to intimate that, at the time of the visit of Van Wessel, the leader of the Dutch mission, it was still being besieged by Mir Jumla.....)".² Qutb Shah in his reply to his envoy at Delhi, Mulla Abdus Samad, observes: "Received your letter written when the Emperor was stopping at Lahore on his way to Kashmir. The complaints which 'Adil Shah made to the Emperor through Mirza Fathulla's were, strangely enough, false. You have yourself seen the copy of the *'ahdnama*. 'Adil Shah had reported that the fort of Gandikota was conquered by Qutb Shah against his order and without his knowledge."³ The date (March—May, 1651) of the Emperor's going to Kashmir⁴ and the reference to the occupation of Gandikota in this letter show that it must have been effected before March, 1651. This agrees with Telugu records also. According to the *Kaifiyat* of Sugumancipalli Mir Jumla

advanced from Golkonda in s.s. 1571 Vikriti A.D. 1649-50 and occupied Gandikota.⁵

This agrees with the evidence of the English records that it was occupied in the spring of 1650, and that in September a Dutch mission was sent to Mir Jumla there and also that about the same time an English mission under Venkat Brahman went to see him, whose plans of commercial partnership with the E.I.C. were incorporated in a letter to Bantam (10th January, 1651) and instructions to Littleton (12th January)⁶. Moreover, the description of Mir Jumla's activities in Gandikota, as given by Tavernier (e.g. his making of roads, establishment of cannon-foundries' administration of justice, review of army, etc.), makes it difficult for us to believe that the fort was captured just 8 days before Tavernier's visit. It is possible, however, that the date of Tavernier refers to the subsequent occupation of Gandikota by Mir Jumla after his defeat at the hands of the Bijapuri general in the war between the two Sultans over the partition of the Karnatak (1651-2).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ball, I. 284.
2. EFI. IX. 22-23, n.
3. Tabrezi, 19a-b ; Pr. IHRC. XVIII. 205-6.
4. Waris, I. 49a-53a.
5. *Further*. I. 363.
6. EFI. IX. 23.

APPENDIX C

Mir Jumla's Activities in Jinji

In mentioning Mir Jumla's exploits in Jinji Dr. N. Venkatar-amanayya has quoted from a Telugu *Sisamalika* written by a contemporary bard, eulogising the valour of Krishna Reddi, the Pentareddi chief of Desuru. [vide 'Mir Jumla's Conquest of Karnatak (From Telugu sources) in YCV. 226-7]. A summary account is given below :

The Bijapuri general, Khan Muhammad, besieged Gandikota and ordered Ambar Khan, governor of Jinji, to capture all forts of 'Nababu' (i.e., Mir Jumla). The latter deputed his Muslim and Hindu captains like 'Murarjalli, Baloji Yahapatrav, Raj Khan, Muhammad Khan, Khairat Khan' to do so. They placed the occupied forts under governors e.g., Matam under 'the cruel and fearless Durgoji Pandit' ; Alakota and Telnatikota under Dadar Ravu. Then they advanced via Kartugudipalem and Ayyavaripalle and made night attack on Kanchi, expelling its inhabitants.

Krishna Reddi, a subordinate of Damera (Damarla) Venkata, the chief of Kalahasti, was directed by the latter's younger brother, Damera Ankappa, to advance against Bijapur and protect his master's territories. He first captured Madhuranakam and Matam. Then he invested Jinji with his three brothers, setting fire to its suburbs scaled the fort walls with ladders, plundered the streets and opened the stone gate (*Rati-vakili*). After a stubborn cavalry fight outside the fort, the victorious Krishna Reddi was introduced to Mir Jumla by Damarla Venkata as *nigelpula-nayaka* (the Nayaka who won your victories) and rewarded with costly dresses, ear-rings and jewels.

The account is valuable as it gives the names of a few Bija-

puri officers and captains, and of a few forts, which are not known from other sources. It also gives an inkling of the subordinate chieftainships in Karnatak. We also came to know that the Kalahasti brothers definitely sided with Mir Jumla. The account is undated and does not find confirmation from other contemporary accounts, Telugu or Persian or European. However, some idea of the approximate date of the incidents recorded here may be gathered from two events : (i) Khan Muhammad's siege of Gandikota, and (ii) Ambar Khan's appointment as governor of Jinji. It is wellknown that the conquest of Jinji preceded that of Gandikota. The Muslim name of the governor of Jinji would imply that it had already been captured by the Bijapuris. Again, since Mir Jumla conquered Gandikota first in 1650, the incidents must refer to some period thereafter and can never be applicable to the struggle for the occupation of Jinji (1648). The incident must, therefore, be placed within the period of border disputes between Bijapur and Golkonda. Such disputes must have been frequent as the boundary between these two states in the Karnatak passed very near Jinji.

It is, however, unthinkable that a minor captain like the Reddi could have scored a victory, unaided, over the Bijapuris. It must, therefore, be assumed that he must have the armed backing of Mir Jumla (supported by Damarla Venkata) who made an attempt here to recover what he had earlier lost.

APPENDIX D

Mir Jumla's Family

Mir Jumla had one son, named Muhammad Amin and several daughters.¹ He spent a lot in bringing Sayyid Nizamuddin Ahmad (of Mecca), and Sayyid Sultan (of Najf)² to Haidarabad, and wanted to marry his two daughters to them. On coming to know of this, Qutb Shah resolved to marry them to two of his own daughters. So Mir Jumla was displeased and joined Aurangzeb. Qutb Shah first married one of his daughters to Sayyid Ahmad and then began to arrange the marriage of the second with Sayyid Sultan. But Sayyid Ahmad, having some enmity with the latter, threatened to induce Aurangzeb to wipe out his kingdom. The Sultan thereupon married his daughter to Abul Hasan (closely related to the Shah through his own mother), and a servitor of Sayyid Shah Raju (ancestor of Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz) for 14 years.³

Muhammad Amin⁴ had a son, named Mirza Abdullah.⁵ Manucci says that Mir Jumla, before his death, gave his wife "some magnificent diamonds" for his son and grandson.⁶ He also wrote to Aurangzeb a letter, praying for his "favours to them" Aurangzeb's behaviour towards Muhammad Amin Khan was marked by utmost kindness and liberality; he confirmed the latter in his office of Bakhshi; increased his allowance by 1,00,000 rupees, constituted him sole heir of his father's property, and subsequently deputed him as Viceroy to Lahore. The annual pay of his son Mirza Abdullah was fixed at Rs. 2,00,000.⁷

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ball, I. 165.

2. Sayyid Nizamuddin Ahmad was the son of the sister of Shah 'Abbas II and Sayyid Ma'sum ; eh was brought up at Mecca and became distinguished for his education and ability (QN. 92). Sayyid Sultan was the disciple of Sayyid Masum and of higher pedigree than Sayyid Ahmad (*ibid*, 90). Sayyid Sultan married the daughter of Muhammad Khan.

There is an inscription on an unfinished tomb of Nizamuddin Ahmad, son-in-law of 'Abdullah and his wife (EIM. 1923-24, p. 31 ; ARADND (1924-5), pp. 5-6.

3. QN. 90-94 ; Ball, I. 170-1 and n.

4. For career of Muhammad Amin, see MU. Text. III. 613-20 ; Tr. 241-245.

5. *Storia*, II. 101 ; FI. 134 ; *Cont.* 106b : killed in N.W. Frontier, 21st April, 1672. MU. III. 617 : TMU. 1083.

6. The jewels of Mir Jumla's widow were plundered by the Pathans. *Storia*, II. 199-201.

7. *Storia*, II. 101-2 ; Bernier, 173.

APPENDIX E

Arrest of Mir Jumla's Son

Muhammad Amin, the son and deputy of the absent Wazir (Mir Jumla) was an important personage in the Haidarabad Court, having a considerable following. The reason of his sudden arrest is variously stated in the contemporary sources. If Manucci¹ is to be believed, Mir Jumla's not obeying the Sultan's repeated summons led the latter to imprison Muhammad Amin. But Manucci's story of his fighting the Sultan from his fortified mansion for 3 days till the arrival of Mir Jumla is inexplicable and is not corroborated by any other source. Qutb Shah, in his letter to the Shah of Persia (c. 1656) wrote that he imprisoned Muhammad Amin as he was not doing good work, in the excesses of pride and egotism, born of successes and he committed some undesirable things.² It is true that Muhammad Amin was by nature haughty and reckless. It is possible that, puffed up with his youth and pride at his father's wealth and glory, he committed some improper acts. But what were they? Tavernier,³ remarks that Muhammad Amin informed his father of the Sultan's plots and that after receiving his father's reply to his own warning, he boldly accused the Sultan of ingratitude towards his father, "without whose aid he would never have come to the throne," and "somewhat carried away from his ordinary demeanour, used such sharpness of expression" that the nobles handled him roughly and the king, offended by his insolence, had him arrested and imprisoned with his mother and sister. The *Maasir ul umara*⁴ says that Muhammad Amin "overstepped the limits of propriety" and one day came drunk to the Court and vomitted forth on the *musnud*, for which the Sultan imprisoned him. But the real reason of his arrest was the leakage of his

negotiations with Aurangzeb. This is conclusively proved by the following letter of Aurangzeb to the Sultan : it transpired from the application of 'Abdul Latif that you have, in spite of knowing that a letter had been issued to Mir Muhammad Amin, arrested him and without considering it as impertinence, put him and his family in the fort of Golkonda.....⁵" A passage in *Shahjahannama* also bears this out ; "Kutbul Mulk, the instant he gained intelligence of the matter (Mir's seeking imperial protection), imprisoned Mir Jumla's son....."⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Storia*, I. 233-5.
2. Tabrezi, 141b-144a; Pr. IHC. (1941). p. 608.
3. Ball, I. 165-6.
4. MU. III. 531.
5. *Adab*, 56b-57a ; GD.
6. SHN. 335 ; E and D. VII. 109.

APPENDIX F

Currency and Weights

The following tables are given as a rough and ready reckoner of value of coins and weight of articles.

(A)

50 - 80 cowries	= 1 <i>paisa</i> .
Pice (half dam) [copper]	= $\frac{1}{80}$ Re., rising to $\frac{1}{60}$ Re.
Dam (or pice) [copper]	= $\frac{1}{40}$ Re., rising to $\frac{1}{30}$ Re.
Rupee [silver]	= 2s. 3d.
Mohur [gold]	= 31s. 6d. or $14\frac{1}{4}$ rupees.
Pagoda, New, [gold]	= $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees.
Pagoda, Old, [gold]	= 4—5 rupees or over.
Fanam [gold]	= variable (12, 15, 18, 24, 32 to the Pagoda).

[A *hun* was a gold coin, forming the usual currency in Bijapur and Golkonda and Hindu territories farther south and called *Pagoda* by Europeans.]

Rial of eight (silver, Spanish money) = 4s. 6d. or Rs. 2.

Ibrahimi (gold) = about $2\frac{7}{8}$ rupees.

Tuman=variable, average value £3. 9s (rupees. $29\frac{1}{2}$, acc. to Tavernier)

(B)

- 1 *tola* = about 180 grains troy.
 1 *rati* = 2.66 grs. troy; ordinarily 1.75 to 1.93.
 1 *Man* (maund) = 40 *Ser*, but weight of *Ser* varied much. Shahjahan fixed it at 40 dams giving the maund nearly 74 lb. In the Deccan and the East Coast the maund was equal to about 26 lb.

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(a) *General Works*

Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla. Daily news-letters from the imperial camp (see CHI, IV. 582). That of year 3 of Aurangzeb used (Sarkar Collection, National Library, Calcutta). Not of much value for Mir Jumla.

'*Amal-i-Swaleh*. By Muhammad Swaleh Kambu, assistant (*pesh-dast*) of Shaikh Makhdum Munshi, Chief Sadr; completed 1070/1659 with subsequent additions till 1081/1671. (OPL. MS): also BI. edn.

A history of Shahjahan till 1665. Useful for Aurangzeb's Golkonda campaign, Mir Jumla's defection to the Mughals, role in the Bijapur campaign, his dismissal from the wizarat and subsequent imprisonment by Aurangzeb; treatment of the War of Succession very brief. Eng. Tr. E&D VII (extracts).

Aurangnama. (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript of Hyderabad Asafiyah Public Library Tarikh No. 603), National Library.

The author of the poem, "Haqiri", a Rozbihani follower of Mir Jumla says (pp. 494-5) that he was present at Tanda after the defeat of Shuja'. Compiled 1072/1661. It is a work of much historical importance, as I have already pointed out in an article in JPU. Vol. I, No 2 (Jan. 1945), P. 21n.

Basatin-us-Salatin. By Mirza Ibrahim 'Zubairi (and not Ghulam Murtaza, as wrongly held by Rieu). (Litho. Hyderabad, 1310/1892-3); OPL. Ms; see Morley, p.79. A Comprehensive History of Bijapur from beginning to end (1686) and continued through Maratha occupation till 1811. Though a late compilation, it is as accurate and valuable as an original work, being based on some important sources of Bijapuri history.

Futuhat-i-Alamgiri. By Ishwardas, a Nagar Brahman of Patan in Gujrat, whose Governor was the son of Mir Jumla, completed 1730. (Sir J.N. Sarkar's transcript of BM. Addl. No. 23884). National Library.

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Fathiyya-i-ibriyya or *Tarikh-i-Mulk-i-Asham*. By Ibn Muhammad Wali Ahmad entitled Shihabuddin Talish, completed Shawwal, 1073/May, 1663. (AS. MS.). Same as *Ajiba-i-gharibah* (Ethe. I. O. 341-3).

Value of the work discussed by Sir J.N. Sarkar in JBORS. I. 179-81; See also BPP. XXIX. 1925, p. 7: abstract published by H. Blochmann in JASB. 1872, pp. 63-96. As Mir Jumla's *Waqianavis*, the author accompanied him in his Kuch Bihar and Assam Campaign, and hence he was an eyewitness. He gives the most detailed account in Persian of Mir Jumla's campaigns in N.E. India.

Continuation of Shihabuddin Talish's *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya*. (Sir J.N. Sarkar's transcript of Bodleian MS. 589). National Library.

It describes the events in Bengal since the death of Mir Jumla (31st March, 1663) to the conquest of Chatgaon (Chittagong, 27th January, 1666). Value discussed in SAR. 162-65 and also in Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*; four long sections of the work translated therein and in JASB. 1906 and 1907. Useful for giving some important details relating to Mir Jumla's administration in Bengal. My translation of some passages in Proc. IH Congress 1948.

Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi. By Muhammad Hashim Fuzuni Astarabadi.

It is a history of Bijapur from the time of Yusuf Adil Shah, with special reference to Ibrahim Adil Shah II and Muhammad Adil Shah, written in 1051-54/1641-43 under the orders of the last mentioned Sultan. It is of value for the Bijapuri conquests described in ch. 2 of this work. Abstract English Translation (in part) in Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*.

Hadiqat-us-Salatin. By Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad bin 'Abdullah us Shirazi us Saidi. Sir J.N. Sarkar's transcript of I.O. MS. Ethe. No. 464. National Library. See Rieu. I. 321-2.

Written at the instance of Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun Peshwa, it is the 2nd volume of *Tarikh-i-Qutbshahi* (BM. MS. Addl. 6542). It is a voluminous but exaggerated history of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah from his birth (Nov. 21, 1614) to January 1, 1644, including the first 19 years of his reign,—a period of decline. Indispensable for Mir Jumla's Golkonda career and his early conquests in the Karnatak. Professor Sherwani likens it to a court diary throwing light on the activities of the nobles, duties of officers, the system of administration, international set-up and social conditions. (QSD).

Muhammadnama. By Maulana Muhammad Zahur bin Zahuri. I used Sir J.N. Sarkar's transcript of Kapurthala State Library Ms. dated 1782. National Library. Also in Bijapur Museum and Slar Jang Library, Hyderabad).

A history of Bijapur during the reigns of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (whose poet-laureate he was) and Muhammad 'Adil Shah upto 1646, compiled under the latter's order, communicated through Mustafa Khan in Sahur 1051 (A.H 1061, A.D. 1651). Zahur uses *Sahur San* years, used in the Deccan, which are nine years short of the Hijra years. Indispensable for Mir Jumla's campaigns in the Karnatak.

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The work describes Mir Jumla's interview with Jaswant Singh on the eve of the battle of Khajwa (1659). I used the Kujhwa Ms. kindly lent by Prof. S.H. Askari.

Both the *Tarikh* and *Nuskha* have been translated as Sir Jadunath Sarkar Birth Centenary Commemoration Vol. edited by V.G. Khobrekar, Director of Archives, Maharashtra. Work reviewed by me in JIH.

Padshahnama. By Muhammad Waris; completed 11th March, 1701 (PL. Ms).

A continuation of 'Abdul Hamid's *Padshahnama*, containing a history of the last ten years of Shah Jahan's reign. It gives a general review of Mir Jumla's career up to his appointment as Mughal Wazir and some details regarding the Bijapur campaign.

Shahjahannama, (*Malakkhas* or Abridgment, as named by the author). By Mūhammad Tahir entitled 'Inayet Khan. c. 1068 A.H. (1657-58). OPL. MS. The author (1628-66) whose *takhallus* was Ashna, was son of Zafar Khan bin Khwajah Abul Hasan (Jahangir's wazir). For some time he was *Darogha-i-dagh* and later was employed in the Imperial Library. The work is a history of first 30 years of Shahjahan's reign. Useful for Mir Jumla's rebellion against Qutb Shah.

Tarikh-i-Ali 'Adil Shah II. By Qazi Sayyid Nur-ullah bin Qazi Sayyid Ali Md. al Husayni al-Qadiri. Written under the Sultan's orders, it comes up to 1071/1659, though completed in 1667. Highly bombastic and ornate (also called *Insha-i-Adil Shahiyah*). Not of much value for Mir Jumla. (Sir J.N. Sarkar's transcript of IOL. Ms. 3052). BM. Add. 27262. 26268; Rieu. 318. Ed. by Abu'n Nasr Muhammad Khalidi, Hyderabad, 1964. (HMD. ii. 582).

Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai. By Mir Muhammad Ma'sum bin Hasan bin Saleh, an old servant of Shuja (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript of IOL. MS. 533).

A history of the exploits of Shuja; abruptly ends on 18th April, 1660; written in 1070/1659-60 at Malda. Rieu, I. 270, III. 1049. Invaluable for War of Succession from Shuja's point of view.

Zafarnama-i-'Alamgiri, also known as *Aurangnama*, *Waqiat* or *Halat-i-'Alamgiri*. By Mirza 'Askari ('Aqil Khan Razi). He was governor of Delhi at the time of his death, 1108 A.H. (ASB. MS).

A history of the first five years of Aurangzeb's reign. [see Ethe. IO (No. 346, 347)], Refers to Mir Jumla's entry into Mughal service, the Bijapur Campaign, War of Succession (esp. Khajwa), in Bihar and Bengal; treatment of Assam war very brief.

(b) *Letters*

Adab-i-'Alamgiri (OPL. MS.). This collection of letters ranging in date from 26th November, 1649 to June, 1659, 'by far the largest and most important letter-book of Aurangzeb' (as Viceroy of the Deccan and as Emperor), was written by his earliest known Secretary, Munshi-ul-mamalik, Sheikh Abul Fath Inayatullah Khan (entitled Qabil Khan), a native of Tatta or Lower Sind (d. May, 1662). Contains Abu-'l-Fath's own letters also. Edited by Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq Muttalibi of Ambala in 1115/1703-4. Value of the work discussed in SAR, 290-2. Prof. Sherwani states that the Asafiyah (State Central) Lib. copy is the oldest d. 1115/1703-4; Salar Jang Lib. copy is dated 1152/1740; Br. Mus. copy is of 1125/1713; he has calculated that Aurangzeb wrote 39 letters to Qutb Shah and 73 to Mir Jumla. QSD. 689-90. The correspondence between Aurangzeb and the Mir. reveals their inner feelings and the clever way of Aurangzeb's wooing of the Golkonda minister [addressing as !Khan-i-Azim ush Shan (Khan of Exalted Dignity)]. Indispensable for Mir Jumla's rebellion against the Sultan of Golkonda, his

activities as Mughal Wazir, fate of his Karnatak dominions, his role in the Bijapur campaign and his influence.

Guldasta (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript of Salar Jang MS. Insha No. 2731).

It contains letters from Mughal Emperors and Aurangzeb and the Court of Persia to the Sultans and officers of Golkonda and Bijapur. Partial translation by Dr. K. K. Basu in JBORS. Dec. 1940. pp. 271-98 and June, 1941. Throws light on (i) rebellion of Mir Jumla (ii) fate of Sri Ranga, (iii) Qutb Shah's intrigues during Golkonda Campaign, (iv) Mir Jumla's appointment as Mughal Wazir, (v) Boundary dispute between Mir Jumla and Qutb Shah, (vi) Bijapur Campaign and gives the bond of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (1656).

Hada'iq-us-Salatin fi Kalamil-Khawaqin (Garden of Sultans and Poetic Compositions of Rulers). By Ali bin Taifur Al-Bistami. Written in 1092/1681 at the instance of the last Sultan of Golkonda, Abdul Hasan. This collection of Persian poems and lives of poets and eminent personages of India and Iran contains some letters of the rulers of Iran and India, ministers and learned men. See QSD. 687-8.

There are three important collections of letters and *farmans* of Abdullah Qutb Shah. Two of these (a) *Makatib-i-Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah ba nam Dara Shukoh Waqhairah* and (b) *Insha-i 'Abdul 'Ali Khan Taliqani*, are in Salar Jang Library. Adab, Nasar Farsi, nos. 295 and 15 respectively. (c) The third (*raiz wa Ittihad-Namajat wa Faramin 'Abdullah Qutb Shah*) is a copy of (a) with some changes and is in Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Karachi No. 7/27. These throw light on the condition of Golkonda after 1636 and refer to Mir Jumla's treason. The dates of letters, mostly undated or incompletely dated range approximately from Mir Jumla's defection in 1065/1654 to Rajab 1072/Feb-March 662. The addressees are Shah Abbas II, Shahjahan and his daughter (probably Jahanara), Dara, Aurangzeb, Ali Adil Shah II and Qutb Shahi envoys to Delhi (Abdus Samad, dahir ul-mulk) and to Bijapur

(Haji Nasira) and others. While Abdullah's letters to Shah Abbas are bitter against Mir Jumla for treason (in the first letter) his *arzdashts* to Shahjahan, Dara and Aurangzeb are overlaudatory and abject in tone. HMD. ii. 587; QSD. 688-9.

Muraqa'at-i-Hasan (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript of Rampur State Library copy, Inshs, No. 182).

Letters of Maulana Abu-l-Hasan, Secretary to the Governors of Orissa for nearly 12 years (1655-67): compiled in 1080/1669-70. Value discussed in SAR. 215. Gives incidental references relating to Mir Jumla's War of Succession in Bengal, and connection with Orissa.

Ruqqat-i-Shah Abbas Sani (Sarkar MS.), also known as *Insha-i-Mirza-Tahir Wahid*.

A collection of letters in the name of Shah 'Abbas II, compiled by his minister Imaduddaula Mirza Muhammad Tahir Wahid of Qazvin (d. 1110/1698-1699). Useful as giving the reply of King Shah 'Abbas II to Mir Jumla's offer to enter Persian royal service.

Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript of BM. Addl. 6600).

A collection of letters drafted by Nazir ul Mamalik Haji 'Abdul 'Ali Tabrezi, a Golkonda State *Munshi*, in the name of 'Abdulla Qutb Shah, Abul Hasan Qutb Shah and of some nobles of the Golkonda Court, chiefly Mir Jumla as well as letters in his own name (*vide*. Rieu. I. 398-9). Though undated, these letters contain extremely valuable details about the affairs of the Karnatak, the conquests therein of Mir Jumla on behalf of Golkonda, the relations of Golkonda with Delhi, Bijapur and Persia respectively, the commercial activities of Mir Jumla in Pegu and Arrakan, and his relations with the European Companies and contemporary nobles and officers in the Deccani Courts and the Wazir of Persia. (Pr. IHRC. XVIII. 197).

(ii) Published or used in Translation.

A'lamgirnama. By Munshi Mirza Muhammad Kazim, son of Muhammad Amin Qazvini (1668). BI. edn.

The official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign (till January 1668). Useful for Mir Jumla's role in the War of Succession. It is not necessary to depend on the Section on the Kuch Bihar and Assam Campaign of the 'Alamgirnama in the presence of Talish's masterly and more detailed account. Eng. Tr. E&D. VII (Extracts).

Maasir-i-'Alamgiri. By Muhammad Saqi Musta'id Khan. completed 1710-11. BI. edn.

A complete history of Aurangzeb's reign. First 10 years abridged from AN. Eng. Tr. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar BI. Cal. 1927.

Tarikh-i-Mufazzali. By Sayyid Mufazzal Khan; narrative comes down to 1666 A.D. (10th Yr. of Aurangzeb's reign). Transl. in extracts E. and D. VIII.

B. AHOM AND ASSAMESE BURANJIS

The people of Assam take pride in their historical literature. Their chronicles, known as Buranjis, dealing primarily with reigns of Ahom Kings and occasionally with other countries with whom they had contact, were numerous and voluminous. Written originally in Ahom, but subsequently in Assamese, these were based on state documents and compiled under royal or official orders.

Ahom Buranji from Khunlung and Khunlai: (i) MS. English Translation from the Ahom language in Assam Government Secretariat, 2 vols. (ii) Translated and edited by Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua as *Ahom Buranji*. From the earliest time to the end of Ahom rule (Ahom Text and Parallel tr.) Calcutta. 1930.

The best known Ahom Buranji, it supplements details derived from Talish about Mir Jumla's Assam campaign and gives some new facts.

Buranji from the earliest times (also written as from Sukpha to Swargadeo Gadadhar Singha (or) Purani Asama Buranji.)

Ed. by Hem Chandra Goswami and published by Kamrup Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati, 1922.

Ahom Buranji (from Khunlung to Gadadhar Singha) found in the family of *Sukumar Mahanta*. Edited by Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, 1945. (See JIH. 1927, P. 379.)

Valuable for indicating (i) the reasons of disaffection among the Ahom Generals against their king, (ii) the digging up of Ahom Graves, (iii) Ahom guerilla fighting and 'scorched earth' policy, (iv) the defection of the Baduli Phukan, (v) full details about the treaty of peace, Mir Jumla's letter to Aurangzeb, and presents to the Ahom King and the latter's payment of tributes to the Emperor.

Assam Buranji, a history of the Ahom kings (1228-1696)

BK. VIII (1605-87¹), in Assamese, found with the widow of Keshab Kanta at Gauhati. PP. 1-128, Complete.

Assam Buranji 1650-58, being Ms.A. (PP. 185-201).

Buranji 1489-1663 A. D. MS. B (PP. 1-92) in Ahom, received from S. Hem Chandra Goswami, S. D. O. Dibrugarh.

Buranji BK. II (b). An account of the tributes paid (1662-67) to the Padshah by Jayadhwaja Simha for the devastation of the province by the Mussalmans (PP. 1-25).

Padshah Buranji ; A chronicle of Muslim rulers of Delhi, from the establishment of Muslim Supremacy to Maharaja Jai Singha II of Jaipur. Kamrup Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati, 1935.

(a) Translated by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in *Islamic Culture*, July, 1928-July, 1929 under the title "New Lights on Moghul India from Assamese Sources". Value discussed in *IsC.* (1928), PP. 323, 540-1.

(b) *Annals of Delhi Badshahate*, *IsC.* July 1933-July 1934 also published as a book. DHAS. 1947.

Assam Buranji from Khunlung to Gadadhar Singha. Published by Kamrup Anusandhan Samiti : extracts published by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in *JIH.* Dec. 1926.

Assam... Dec. 1926.

Assam Buranji (1648-81) ;

A History of Assam from Swargadeo Jayadhwaj Singha to the accession of Swargadeo Gadadhar Singha, 1648-81 A. D. with a chronology of events in the history of Assam

from 1468 to 1825. A. D. etc. Collected from old Assamese Manuscript chronicles. Edited by S. K. Dutta. DHAS. 1938.

Text mainly reproduced from (i) an old Assamese chronicle from Jayadhwaj Singha to Rudra Singha's Kachari Wars, obtained from the American Baptist Mission, Gauhati, (ii) a transcript there of obtained from Srijut Anandaram Gohain, Marigaon, Nowgong, (iii) an Assamese chronicle from Dihingia Raja to Chandra Kanta Singha obtained from Srijut Chidananda Bezbarua, Nazira, Sibsagar.

Kamrupar Buranji, Text dealing with Assam-Mogul conflicts with chapters on ancient Kamarupa, and 18 diplomatic epistles. DHAS : A history of Kamrup from earliest times till 1682. Ed. by Dr. S.K. Bhuyan, Assamese Text. See JIH. V (1927), 379.

Wade, Dr. John, Peter—(i) *Account of Assam*, being mainly a translation of a Buranji in Ahom and of another in Assamese. Compiled 1792-1800. Ed. by Benudhar Sharma, Sibsagar, 1927. (it) *Geographical Account of Assam*.

Besides these there are 60 Mss. Assam Buranjis, listed by Dr. S.K. Bhuyan in *Atan Buragohain and his Times*, 349-54.

C. EUROPEAN RECORDS

The records of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, centred primarily at Goa, Batavia (modern Jakarta) and Surat respectively are extremely valuable for supplying exact dates of events, which are not always available in our contemporary chronicles. For, being merchants, the Europeans were particularly sensitive to all occurrences, like wars and conquests, changes of governments which had a bearing on trade.

The English Factories in India 1618-69. Ed. by Sir W. Foster, 13 Vols. Oxford, published between 1906-27. The volumes form a mine of information relating to Mir Jumla's relation with the European Companies in all aspects, and throw valuable light on his Golkonda career and his Karnatak conquests, (esp. for dates), his administration therein, com-

mercial activities, and the battle of Khajwa and Mir Jumla's activities in Bihar and Bengal.

The Chamber's Narrative gives a highly interesting account of the Hindu Revolt of 1656-58; (its importance has been discussed by me in JBORS. XXVI. 327n).

Supplementary Calender of documents in India Office relating to India or Home affairs of East India Company, 1600-40. By Sir William Foster. London, 1928.

A Calender of The Court Minutes etc. of the East India Company 1635-79. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, 8 Vols. Oxford 1906-27. vols. 1650-54, 1655-59.

For the Diaries of Streynsham Master and William Hedges, see Section D. *Supra*.

The Dutch records, as contained in the *Hague Transcripts* (I.O. Library), and the *Batavia Dag Register*, are mainly used from their extracts in English translation and references to some of them in Sir William Foster's *English Factories in India*. The BDR. Anno 1663 reflects Dutch merchants' interest in Mir Jumla's return from Assam.

Danvers F.C.—Report on Records of India Office, 1888.

—India Office Records.

—Report on Records relating to the East in the State Archives in the Hague (in Typescript) 1895. 2 vols.

—Report to the Secretary of State for India on Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies contained in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo and Public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora. London, 1892.

D. WORKS OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY EUROPEAN WRITERS AND TRAVELLERS.

(histories, travels, voyages and letters)

(a) *English (arranged chronologically)*

Purchas. His Pilgrimes Vol. v. 1625.

Mundy, Peter. *The Travels of in Europe and Asia*, 1608.

67. (He visited Asia, 1628-34), Ed. by Sir Richard Carnac

Temple and L.M. Anstey 4 vols. Hakluyt, Vol. I, 1907 ; II, 1914; III, 1919; IV. 1924.

Bell, Richard & John Campbell. *The Travels of.....in the East Indies. Persia and Palestine*, 1654-'70 (BM. Sloane, 811.) Ed. by Sir R.C. Temple, IA. 1906-08. Wrong in dates. Richard Bell was gunfounder of the Mughal Emperor during 1654-68. John Campbell was with Murad Bakhsh.

Bowrey, Thomas. *A Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, 1669 to 1679. Ed. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Hakluyt: MDCCCCV.

Throws some light on Mir Jumla's commercial activities.

John Marshall in India. Notes and observations in Bengal, 1668-72. Ed. by Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Allahabad Univ. Studies. Vol. 5. O.U.P. London. 1927.

Ogilby, John. *Asia*, the First Part, being an Accurate Description of Persia and the Several Provinces thereof, the vast Empire of the Great Mogul and other Parts of India and their several kingdoms and regions etc. compiled by His Majesty's Cosmographer, Geographick Printer and Master of His Majesty's Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland. London MDCLXXIII.

Master, Streynsham. *The Diaries of.....*, 1675-80. Ed. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, 2 Vols. (Indian Records Series) London, 1911.

Hedges, Sir William. *The Diary of.....*, During His Agency in Bengal as well as on his voyage out and return overland, 1681-87. Ed. by R. Barlow and Col. H. Yule, 3 Vols. Hakluyt. 1887, 1888, 1890.

Hamilton, Captain Alexander. *A New Account of the East Indies*, 2 Vols. Edinburgh, 1727. Ed. by Sir William Foster, 1930.

(b) French

Mission du Cadure (in French)

From unedited documents by Le P.J. Bertrand of the Company of Jesus. Vol. III. Letter No. 2 of Father Antoine de Proenza, dated Trichinopoly, 1659 A.D.

Bernier, Francois. Born in 1620, he reached Surat in 1658. As a physician with a doctorate in medicine (1652), he was attached to Shahjahan's court. (a) *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656-68. Tr. and ed. by (i) Irving Brook, Vol. I. 1826, (ii) Archibald Constable. 1891, (iii) V.A. Smith, Oxford, 1914.

- (b) *History of the late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogul together with the most considerable passages for five years following in that Empire.* Published 1670. Tr. from the French of Monsieur F. Bernier Physician of the faculty of Montpellier, by Irving Brook, Cal. 1826.

Tavernier, Jean Baptiste, Baron of Auborne (C. 1605-90)

(i) *The Six Voyages through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies for the space of Forty years etc.* Tr. into English by J. Phillips. London, 1678.

(ii) *Travels in India.* Translated from the original French edition of 1676 with a Biographical sketch of the author. Ed. by V. Ball. 2 vols. 1889: 2nd ed. by W. Crooke, 2 vols. Oxford, 1925.

He visited Golkonda kingdom in 1638-9. 1651, 1657-8, 1662-3, described its trunk and branch roads as well as threw light on economic conditions. As a jeweller and dealer in diamonds he has left interesting details about diamond mines, in which Mir Jumla was also interested. His account of Mir Jumla's personality is, therefore, highly useful as that of an eye-witness. It throws light on his conquest of Gandikota and his Karnatak administration. But it is not always reliable, viz., the account of his role as mediator and initiator of peace proposals in the Golkonda campaign is incorrect. Moreover, Mir Jumla's correspondence with Shuja, praying for shelter against Qutb Shah, is not supported by any Persian chronicle.

Thevenot, Monsieur Jean de, Travels into the Levant, in 3 parts Tr. out of French, Dec. 1686. Preface by A. Lovell. Born in 1633, Thevenot visited Golkonda kingdom in 1666-7. He has recorded his experiences carefully. His observations regarding Mir Jumla's wealth and conquest of Gandi-

kota are valuable. The work has been edited by S.N. Sen (1949) under 'The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri'.

(c) *Venetian*

Manucci, Niccolao, *Storia do Moqor*. 1653-1708 Tr. and ed. by W. Irvine, 4 vols. (Indian Text Series) London, 1907-8. New edn.

A Venetian he left home early and accompanied Viscount Bellemont to Turkey, Persia and India. They reached Surat in January 1656 and moved North. He successfully served Dara (as gunner), Aurangzeb, Dara again (as Captain of artillery), Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, the Portuguese at Goa, Prince Shah Alam (as court physician), the Portuguese again, Abul Hasan, last Sultan of Golkonda (as physician) and lastly Governor Gyfford at Madras where he settled and later died.

— Written in Italian, French and Portuguese, his narrative is highly valuable as throwing light on politics and society though at time it is gossipy.

Gives some incidental details regarding Mir Jumla's early life, conquests in the Karnatak, his participation in the War of Succession and Assam campaign. Some are valuable, but all cannot be fully relied on.

(d) *Dutch*

Schoerer's 'Relations'.

This Dutch factor was at Masulipatam (1609-14) and visited Hyderabad before the arrival of Mir Jumla. But he left a valuable account of the Bandar Masulipatam as 'the most famous market on the coast' as well as of economic conditions. Another anonymous 'Relation' of Masulipatam was left by one in the local factory.

Methwold (b. 1590), who later became the President of Surat factory, was at Masulipatam, 1618-22, a few years before Mir Jumla. His account of the port and of Golkonda is very valuable. (For both see Moreland's *Relations of Golkonda*, 1931).

MacLeod, De Dost—Indische Compagnie Als Zeemogenheid in Azie, II. Translation of a passage dealing with the Siege of Gingi, in JIH. XX. 312-13.

Glanus, Mr. *A Relation of an Unfortunate Voyage to the Kingdom Bengala* (originally printed in Amsterdam in 1681). London, 1682. An account of the ship-wrecked Dutchman on board the *Ter Schelling*, 1661, Vide 'Mir Jumla's Invasion of Assam, A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle.' BPP 1925 (XXIX).

Highly valuable for Mir Jumla's Assam campaign, especially the account of the naval battle above Kaliabar. Makes useful observations re: Mir Jumla's character.

(e) *Others*

Manrique, Fray Sebastien. Itinerario de las Misiones Orientales. 1629-43. Travels of, 2 vols. Tr. & Ed. by Lt. Col. C. Eckford Luard and Father H. Hosten, S.J. Hakluyt. 1927. Vol. II deals with India! Some chapters are translated by Edward Maclagan in *Journal Punjab Historical Society*, 1911, vol. 1.

Olerious Adam. Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors from the Holstein to the Great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia, 1633-39... in 7 books. Tr. into Eng. by John Davies of Kidwelly, London, 1662.

Mandelslo, Johann Albrecht (Albert) De. The Voyages & Travels of... into the East Indies, 1638-40...in 3 books. Tr. into Eng. by John Davies of Kidwelly, London, 1662; 2nd edn. London, 1669 in John Harris, *A Collection of Voyages & Travels*, vol. II, Lond, 1764. Value discussed by V. A. Smith, *JRAS.* April, 1915

E. TAMIL, TELUGU AND SANSKRIT

Mackenzie Collection. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and other articles illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics and Antiquities of the South of India; collected by the Late Lieut. Col. Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India. By H.H. Wilson, 2 vols. 1828.

In the hundreds of villages in the Deccan, successive clerks (*Karnam*) or revenue officers (*patwaris*) maintained local records or accounts known as *dandakaviles* or *Kaviles* or village registers. These threw light on contemporary socio-economic conditions and political events. Grasping

their value Mackenzie sought to collect such long accounts. But his copyists who were mostly ignorant, instead of copying these in toto, made only abstracts or gists as they liked, called *Kaifiyats* or narratives. These need cautions and critical approach as fact and fiction are here mixed up. (*Further Sources*, I.8 ; Q. S. D. 694-5).

I plodded through a huge mass of materials collected under this section entitled Mackenzie Mss. Collection in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but did come not across any original point relating to my thesis.

The following in the collection, however, contain incidental references to some events and persons connected with the present book :

(i) *History of the Carnatic*, containing several articles (Mack. Coll. Vol. II. Sec. IX nos. 2-7, 11, 16-20, 22-25, 27, 31, 33, 35-40, pp. cxxxv-cxxxvii) of which the ff. are important: *ibid.*, No. 16 (Moogral), no. 17 (Penumurry), no. 18 (Paukal), no. 20 (Goodypaut), no. 22 (Pulloor) no. 23 (Cullore Poliam), no. 24 (Poolycherla), no. 27 (Bamrauze) no. 31 (Calestry), no. 35 (Chingleput) no. 36-40 (Gingee), no. 47 (Purgunnahs in the Payen Ghatt belonging to the Veejapoor Sooba, and to the Hyderabad Soobha).

(ii) *Madura*. An account of the Gentoo Kings of Madura Kingdom of Pandyas. (Mack Coll. Vol. II. Sec. IV. nos. 2 3, 5-16, 17, 20, 22. p.cxxxii). History of Tirumala Nayak in Ch. 6 (*ibid.*, no.11).

(iii) *Historical Account of the Sovereigns of Mysore*. (MC. II. Sec. III. nos. 17 and 24, p. cxxxi).

(iv) *Mahommedan Governments of Dekan* (MC. II. Sec. XLI, nos. 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, pp.clxi, clxii) (a) Adil Shah Kings (*Ibid.*, no. 2), (b) "Of the Cootab Shaheea or Kings of Tallang". (*ibid.*, no. 4) This contains a brief reference to Mir Jumla's career in Golkonda.

(v) *Andhra, Condavir & c.* (Mc. II. Sec. VII. Nos. 8, 9, 15, p. cxxxiv).

(a) *Tamil*

Narayanan Kon's *Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitram*. (complete History of the Karnatak Kings) in Tamil, found in the Mackenzie Mss.

A translation of relevant portions of Section VIII was supplied to me by Rao (later Dewan) Bahadur .S. Srinivasacharid (See his *History of Gingee* (28-31n) for value of this work). It refers to the agreement between the two Deccani Sultans and the struggle over Jinji.

Taylor, Historical Mss. in the Tamil language, Lond, 1825.

(b) *Telugu*

Rao (later Dewan) Bahadur C. S, Shrinivasachari informed me "There is not much of what may be called original material in Telugu literature regarding Mir Jumla in the Golkonda Karnatak."

Some incidental references may be gathered from :—

(i) MSS. like XXXII. Ceded Districts, Local Tracts (Telugu), entitled "Account of Gandikotta Hill Fort" in the Jambula Maddugu Dt. (Mack. Coll. Vol. II. p. lxx).

(ii) *The Velugotivarivamsavali*. MC. I. 306-309 Ed. by Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya, Univ. of Madras, 1939. Deals with the family of Venkatagiri and Kalahasti—esp. exploits of Kumara Yacha (21st generation) and Singa. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, an account of the Nayaks of Tanjore, and referred to in the Mack. Coll. I. 310-11. Extracts in SVH. No. 98. pp. 319-'36.

Ramarajiyamu, by Venkayya, SVH. No. 97. pp. 310-319.

Chikkadeva Raya Vamsavali. by Tirumalarya ; Sriranga Raya III of Vijaynagar. SVH. No. 96. pp. 309-10.

Bahulasvacharitam, a poem by Damara Vengalabhupala of Kalahasti family SVH. No. 93. pp. 304-7.

(iii) *Kaifiyat* of Sugumanchipalle, a village in Jammala Madugu taluqa, Cuddapah dt. L.R. 35. pp. 171-2, in No. 244 (a) *Further*, iii 305-6.

(iv) *Kavile* of Tollamadugu in Jambulamadugu taluqa, Mack, Mss. 15-3-49. pp. 196 in No. 244 (b) *Further* iii, 306,

(c) *Sanskrit*

Sivatattvaratnakara by Keladi Basava (SVH. No. 99 and 100).

F. ARCHAEOLOGICAL, EPIGRAPHIC AND NUMISMATIC

Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department of His
Exalted Highness the Nizam's Domination (since 1915).

The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (collected till
1923) and outlines of Political History, by Robert Sewell,
and edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Madras, 1932.

Epigraphia Indo—Moslemaica.

1923-24. (i) A new inscription from Golkonda by
G. Yazdani.

1937-38. (2) Some Muslim Inscriptions from the
Madras Presidency and Orissa by G. Yazdani.

(3) Three Inscriptions from Gingee by F. A. Khan.

(4) Some new Inscriptions from the Golkonda fort by
Khwaja Md.Ahmad.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Month	Hijri Dates Year (A.H.)	Gregorian Dates		Details of career & events (with references)
		Month	Year (A.D.)	
1		2	3	
				Chapter 1 <i>Early Life of Mir Jumla</i>
	C. 1000		C. 1591	Mir Muhammad born (pp. 2, 19n).
	C. 1024-35		C. 1615-25	Mir Muhammad arrives in Golkonda (pp. 3, 20n)
Jumadi II, 2	1034	March 12	1624	Death of Mir Md. Mumin Peshwa. (QSD. 402).
Jumadi I, 14	1035	Feb. 1	1626	Accession of Abdullah Qutb Shah (Appoints after sometime Shah Muhammad Peshwa (pp. 4, 20n).
	C. 1037		1627-8	Mulla Md. Taqi Taqrishi, <i>havaladar</i> of Masulipatam (p. 7).
			1628	Mir Fasihuddin Md. Taqrishi succeeds him (pp. 7, 22n).
	1038		1628	<i>Mir Jumla</i> Mansur Khan Habshi dies ; the post is held in abeyance (p. 5).
Safar 23	1038	Oct. 12	1628	Mulla Md. Taqi Taqrishi appointed <i>Sar-i-Khail</i> and discharges duties of <i>Mir Jumla</i> : entitled <i>Sharif ul Muluk</i> (pp. 9, 23n).
	1038	April 22	1629	Shaikh Md. Ibn-i-Khatun <i>Naib Peshwa</i> appointed <i>Peshwa-i-Kul</i> (pp. 5, 20-21n).
Ramzan 9			C. 1630-32	Mirza Rozbihani Ispahani in charge of Masulipatam dt. (pp. 7, 22-23n).

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Shawwal 19	1040	May 11	1631	Md. Taqi Taqrishi dies; Peshwa Shaikh Md. Ibn-i-Khatun also officiates as <i>Diwan</i> ; but his diwani duties were performed by others (pp. 5,9.)
Zilhijja 24	1040	July 14	1631	Mirza Ahmad Astarabadi apptd. <i>Sar-i-Khail</i> , but—
Rabi us Sani 3,	1041	Oct. 19	1631	replaced by Mirza Rozbihani Ispahani (pp. 9-10).
Safar 13	1042	Aug. 20	1632	He is dismissed and is succeeded by Mir Fasihuddin Md. Taqrishi (p.10).
Shawwal 9	1043	Feb. 26	1634	The Golden <i>Farman</i>
		March 29	1634	Shaikh Md. Ibn-i Khatun apptd. <i>Mir Jumla</i> with his nephew Shaikh Md. Tahir as <i>Sar-i-Khail</i> . Mir Fasihuddin is dismissed (p.10).
Muhurram-Zilhijja	1045		1635-36	Mir Md., an ordinary <i>Sillahdar</i> , appointed <i>Sar-i dagfar Shahi</i> and later as <i>havaladar</i> of Masulipatam (p.6).
Rajab 17	1045	Dec. 17	1635	Ibn-i-Khatun is honoured; apptd. in effect permanent Peshwa besides Mir Jumla. Post of <i>Sar-i-Khail</i> left vacant for three months (p.6).
Shawwal 19	1045	March 17	1636	Abdullah Khan Mazandarani <i>Sar-i-lashkar</i> of Kasimkot and Kalang, apptd. <i>Sar-i-Khail</i> (p.10).
25 Zilhijja		May 21		Adil Shah's <i>Inqiyadnama</i> (Lahori)
7 Rabi II	1046	Aug. 29		Qutb Shah's <i>Inqiyadnama</i> (Lahori)
14 Shaban	1046			Mir Md. also apptd. <i>havaladar</i> of Mustafanagar
-23 Shaban	1047			(Condapilly) pp. 8, 21n)

1	2	3
Safar 7	1047	1637
Safar 9 (night)	June	Mir Md. arrives to royal court.
—	June	Mir Md. apotd. <i>Sar-i-Khail</i> (pp 10,23n).
—	May	The English realises that Mir's threats were pretences for exaction of money (p. 13).
By Rabi I	1048	1638
By July	3-29	Mir constructs Hayat Mahal Palace-Royal visit to it. (pp. 11-12).
”	”	”
”	”	Mulla Wais, <i>dabir</i> and <i>munshi ul mamalik</i> , dismissed
26 Shawwal	1048	1639
before	Feb. 20	Mir Md. to look after his retainers (pp. 8, 13, 24-25n).
before	before	Mirza Taqi Nishapuri apptd. <i>dabir</i> . Mir Md's parade of Iraqi contingent (pp. 13-14).
Rabi I. 28	1049	Mir Md. appointed <i>Wazir</i> (pp. 13-25n).
Rajab 12	1049	1639
Ramzan 12,	Oct. 29	Qutb Shah's journey from the capital to Masulipatam (pp. 14-17).
Rajab 12	Dec. 27,	The Sultan sets out (p. 14.)
Rajab 15-23	Oct. 29	Hayatabad (Hayatnagar) (p. 14).
Rajab 29-30	Nov. 1-9	Moonagalah (p. 15).
	Nov. 15-16	Anantgiri (p. 15)

1	2	3
Shāban 3	Nov. 19	Mustafanagar (Condapilly) (p. 15).
Shāban 5	Nov. 21	Sultan ascends hill (p. 15).
Shāban 7	Nov. 23	Bezawada : The captains of three European Companies interview the Sultan (p. 15).
Shāban 8	Nov. 24	Weyoor (p. 15).
		To the port & Engodour. Dubighat (Pt. Divy) (p. 16).
Shāban 11	Nov. 27	To the port again (p. 16).
Shāban 17	Dec. 3	Fishing at Pt. Divy (p. 16).
Shāban 18	Dec. 4	Mir Md. describes the condition of the port (p. 16).
Shāban 21	Dec. 7	Sultan departs; Mir. Md. rewarded (p. 17).
C. Shāban 15 —Ramzan 16	1049 C. Dec.	Mir described as 'Chief Governor Under the King who governed the whole kingdom. EFI. VI. 200, 220-2.
After Rabi II 10	1053 After June 18	Mir Md. appt. Mir Jumla (see next chapter).

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Chapter 2

Role of Mir Jumla in the Muhammadan Conquest of the Karnataka.

Rabi I,	1031-33	1622-23	Bijapur reduces some Hindu states in Mysore, including Karnul (pp. 30-31).
Zilhijja 25	1045	1630-42	Venkata III, Rayal of Vijaynagar (p. 32).
Safar 20	1046	1636	<i>Inqiyadnama</i> (Deed of Submission) between Shah Jahan Adil Shah Lahori ii. 129-33
Rabi II 7			Aurangzeb apptd. Viceroy of the Deccan.
			<i>Inqiyadnama</i> between Shah Jahan and Qutb Shah Lahori ii. 177-81.
Shaban 22,	1047	1636-48	Bijapur effectively reduces Ikkeri, Sera, Bangalore and Kurnool (p. 30).
		1637	Rustam Randaula subdues Raja Virbhadra of Ikkeri, marches upon Bangalore, occupies Sera, invests Srirangapatam and returns
Shaban 4-	1048	1638-39	to Bijapur. (p. 30).
Ramzan 5,		1638	captures Tarikera-Basavapatan (p. 30).

1	2	3
Rabi I, 10 —Rabi II, 10	1049 July,	1639 Venkata defeated (p. 31).
Muh. 30- Jumadi II 4,	1051 May-Aug.,	1641 Rustam advances on Vellore (p. 31).
Muh. 11- Safar 10,	1051-52 April,	1642 Kambam, limit of Golkonda advance (p. 31). 1642 Mir Md. advances and occupies 8 forts (p. 32).
Muharram 20 Safar 1,	Apr. 10, Apr. 22, Oct. 10, Dec. 29, Dec. 31, Jan, 5-10,	Mir Md. occupies Dumburu (Dandalaru) (p. 33). Mir Md. occupies Sriharikota island (p. 33). Venkata dies in Chittoor dt. (p. 33). Sri Ranga succeeds him (p. 33). Mir Md. occupies Nakbat, Rapur (p. 33). and Kullur (p. 33).
Shawwal 19, Shawwal 24 —end,	mid-June, June 18	Mir Md. occupies Udaygiri (p. 34). Abdullah Qutb. Shah gets the news and appoints Mir Md. <i>Mir Jumla</i> . (p. 34). Mir Md. Mir Jumla.
C. Rabi II, Rabi II, 10,	1053 1053	1643-44 Sri Ranga compels Qutb Shahi army to raise the siege of Vellore and expel it (p. 35).

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	Jan.,	1644	Sri Ranga dislodges Qutb Shahi forces from Karnatak Balaghat (p. 36).
Muharram,	March,		Sri Ranga III's pact with Bijapur (p. 36).
C. Jumadi I,	beg. or mid-July,		Ghazi Ali, Qutb Shahi general, occupies towns near Pulicat (p. 36).
Jumadi II. 27	21 Aug.		Hindu general Kistappa routs the Qutb Shahi army and drives them beyond Armagon up to Udaygiri (p. 36).
—beg. Shaban,	—Sept.		
C. Zilkada,	C. end of beg. of	1644 1645	Qutb Shah ends war with the Rayal who makes an agreement with him (p. 37).
	From 12 Aug.	1645	Rayal besieges the Dutch settlement of Pulicat (p. 37).
	Dec.		Rayal defeated by the Nayaks of Tanjore, Madura and Jinji (p. 37).
C. end Zilkada, 1055	Beginning,	1646	Bijapuri general Khan Md. capture Nandiyal and 8 other strong forts (p. 37),
C. Shaban —Ramzan	Autumn,	1646	—and gains rapid victories in Karnatak Balaghat (p. 37).
Zilbijja 24-Muh. 15	Jan. 21 —Feb. 10,	1646	Mir Jumla captures, three Hindu castles, including Udayagiri (p. 38).

1	2	3
Safar	1056	then advancing west captures 6 forts of citwivelli principality (Cuddapah dt.) (p. 38).
Rabi II. 26	C. March 9	Partition Agreement bet. Bijapur and Golkonda (p. 40).
Jumadi I. 26	—April 6 June	Bijapuri general, Mustafa Kh. advances to Mahnad (p. 41).
		Mir Jumla, after recapturing Udayagiri, over-runs the East coast, S. of Nellore and occupies the area round Fort St. George (p. 41).
Safar 24— Rabi I. 26	before April Dec. 11 (Beg.) Jan. 4	Captures Tondamanad, Tirupati and Chandragiri in N. Arcot dt. (p. 41). begins encirclement of Pulicat (p. 41). Comes within two days march of Vellore (p. 42). —siege of Vellore by combined Adil Sh. and Qutb Shahi forces (p. 42).
	1647	Royal submits (p. 42).
	C. April June	The English had their privileges confirmed by Mir Jumla, who sends Mallapa to Madras (p. 42).
	Oct.	Mir Jumla reported to have almost conquered Hindu kingdom (p. 42).

1	2	3
Shawwal, 13 —Muh. 15,	1057 1058	1647-48
	Winter (Nov. '47— Jan. '48)	Mir Jumla advances towards Jinji-conquers Tandivanam (in Tanjore) and Asur (in S. Arcot dt.) (p. 43). Tirumala Nayak appeals to Adil Shah, who directs Khan Md. against Golkonda (p. 43).
Zilhijja 24	1057	1648
Safar 15	1058	
Rabi, I. 16		
	Jan. 10, March	Adil Shah sends Mustafa Khan against Jinji (p. 43). Mir Jumla returns to Conjeeveram, but forestalls the combined Bijapuri, Madura and Mysore forces against Wandiwash and occupies it (p. 43). Rift over Jinji bet. Mustafa and Mir Jumla-Mutual negotiations (pp. 44-45). —Khan Md. halts at Raichur and begins in conquering Nandiya (p. 45). —Mustafa conquers Changam and Trinomai and besieges Jinji (p. 45). —Mir Jumla returns to Swarigonta (p. 45). Death of Mustafa. Malik Raihan in charge of siege of Jinji (p. 45). —Mir Jumla plans to occupy Jinji himself but goes away to Rachootee and resumes conquests in Cuddapah dt. (p. 45).
Ziqad 3	Nov. 9	

1	2	3
		—Khan Md. arrives from Tadpatri to Jinji as permanent commander (p. 45).
Zilhijja 22	1059	Dec. 17
		1649 Jinji falls to Bijapur (p. 46).
		1649-50 Bijapuri operations against Tanjore and Madura (p. 46).
		1649 Tanjore falls to Bijapur—Rayal flees to Mysore (p. 47).
		Saka Vikriti 1572 (C. Mar. 29—Dec. 28. 1650) (<i>Ind. Eph.</i> 102).
		1649-50 Siddhout falls to Mir Jumla (p. 48).
		Mir Jumla starts for Gandikota (p. 49)
(C. Rabi II	1060	1650 And occupies it for first time.
—Jum. I.)		Signs of friction between Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla (p. 105).
		1651 Walter Littleton and Venkata Brahman's mission to Mir Jumla (p. 80).
		1650 Guti (Gutti), ruled by Mir Jumla (p. 51).
		Gurumkonda, Chandragiri and Tirupati (N. Arcot dt.) (p. 51).
C. Safar 12	1062	1652 War between Bijapur and Golkonda (pp. 52-58).

1	2	3
Safar 12— Rabi I. 12	Jan. 14— Feb. 12	1652
C. Rabi, II	C. Mar.	1062
	End of Aug.	
	Sep. 1	1652 (N-S)
	Sep. 11	
		1653

Khan Md. deputed against Mir Jumla and defeats him (pp. 55-56).
 Peace (p. 56).
 Khan Md. besieges and occupies Penukonda ancestral capital of Rayal, who moves to Kandarpī (pp. 56-57).
 Subsequent occupation of Gandikota by Mir Jumla.
 Mir's whole army encamped at Gandikota (p. 82).
 Frank gunners clamour for pay before Mir Jumla (p. 83).
 Raja of Mysore defeated by Khan Md. (p. 58).

Chapter 3

Rebellion of Mir Jumla

Sept.	1653	Mir Jumla described as Sultan's agent (p. 106).
	1653-4	Aurangzeb sends Md. Mumin Safcarkhani to report on Mir's affairs (p. 110).

Rabi I. 11	Dec. 29	Shahjahan's letter to Aurangzeb (p. 117).
Rabi I. 14	1066 Early Jan.	Mir Jumla explains reasons of delay in coming to Aurangzeb (p. 120).
20	Jan. 7	Aurangzeb receives two letters of Shahjahan (p. 117). —Qutb Shah releases Md. Amin (p. 118).
23	Jan. 10	Aurangzeb communicates programme to Mir Jumla (p. 120).
Rabi II. 1	Jan. 18	Md. Sultan to reach Haidarabad.
3	Jan. 20	Aurangzeb to start (p. 120).
4	Jan. 21	Md. Amin interviews Md. Sultan (p. 118).
Rabi II. 5	Jan. 22	Qutb Shah escapes to Golkonda (p. 118).
6	Jan. 23	Md. Sultan arrives at Husain Sagar Tank (p. 118).
7	Jan. 24	Haidarabad plundered after occupation.
11	Jan. 28	Aurangzeb reaches Golkonda (p. 119).
12	Jan. 29	Qutb Shah restores Mir Jumla's property to Md. Sultan (p. 119).
25	Feb. 11	Aurangzeb sends Mir Abdul Latif to escort Mir Jumla (p. 120).

1	2	3
Jumadi I. 9	1066	Imperial <i>farman</i> of pardon given by Aurangzeb to Qutb Shah.
17	Feb. 24	1656
Jumadi I. 22	Mar. 3	Aurangzeb gets 3 letters of Mir Jumla.
	Mar. 8	Mir Jumla crosses the Krishna.
		—Hayat Bakhshi Begum comes to Shaista Khan's camp (p. 121).
Jumadi I. 26	Mar. 12	Aurangzeb asks Mir to come.
Jumadi II. 2	Mar. 18	Mir Jumla welcomes the imperial <i>farman</i> and <i>Khilat</i> .
4	Mar. 20	Mir Jumla waits on Prince Md. Sultan (p. 121).
Jumadi II. 7	Mar. 23	Date fixed for meeting between Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla.
(Sunday)		
Jumadi II. 19	April 4	Md. Sultan marries Golkonda princess.
22	April 7	Death of Sadullah Khan Wazir.
29	April 14	Aurangzeb visits Mir Jumla (p. 121).
Jumadi II. 22	April 7	Death of Wazir Sadullah Khan (p. 127).
25	April 10	—Issue of the imperial <i>farman</i> , conferring the title of Muazzam Khan for Mir Jumla, sent through Md. Beg. (p. 125).

Chapter 4

Mir Jumla as Mughal Wazir

Sec. A : The Wazir as Agent of Aurangzeb.

Mir Jumla leaves Haidarabad (p. 125).

—accompanies Aurangzeb up to Indur (p. 125).

—advances towards imperial court (p. 125).

Mir Jumla leaves Indur for Delhi (p. 125).

Mir writes from Narwar to Aurangzeb.

Mir informs Aurangzeb of having got a personal letter from Emperor.

Aurangzeb receives Emperor's urgent call to send Mir.

Aurangzeb receives Mir's letter of Ramzan 2.

Aurangzeb receives Mir's letter of Ramzan 3.

[For Mir-Aur. correspondence, *Adab*, 82a-83a].

Aurangzeb learns of Mir Jumla's receipt of a personal letter from Emperor (p. 126).

Emperor sends Qasim Khan *Mir Atish* & Danishmand Khan *Bakhshi* to escort Mir Jumla (p. 126).

1656

April 16

1066

Rajab 2

18

May 2

19

May 3

(night)

23

May 7

Ramzan 2

3

June 14

15

4

16

9

21

15

27

25

July 7

1	2	3
		He has audience with Emperor (p. 127). Mir Jumla appointed <i>Dāwan-i-Kul</i> or Wazir (till end of Sept. 1657) (p. 127).
Zikada 27	Sept. 6	1656 (?) Aurangzeb replies to Mir's letter of (p. 132).

Chapter 4, Sec. B

Fate of Mir Jumla's Karnatak Dominions

Shaban 18 —Ramzan 18	June June 21	1656	Adil Shah asks Qiladar of Jinji to nibble at southern most part of Mir's Karnatak dominions (p. 141). Aurangzeb gets Mir's letter reporting Bijapur's activities (p. 148).
Ramzan 19 —Shaban 19	July August		Emperor confers Karnatak as reward on Mir Jumla (p. 140). Aurangzeb objects to Mir's attitude towards him (p. 145).
Zilkada 27 Zilhijja 22, —Muhurram 22, 1067	Sept. 6 Oct.	1656(?)	Mir reciprocates Aurangzeb's feelings (in letter). Hindus recover the country round Madras (p. 143).
	End of	1656	Aurangzeb threatens Qutb Shah with invasion (pp. 147-8).

1	2	3
Safar 18	1067	1656
	Nov. 4	Death of Md. Adil Shah.
22	Nov. 26	Mir Jumla presents a befitting <i>peshkash</i> to Emperor (p. 153).
23	Nov. 30	Shah Beg sets out from Bir (p. 152).
	Dec. 1	Mir Jumla leaves for the Deccan.
	Dec. 15	Shah Beg reaches Indur (p. 152).
Rabi II. 1	Jan. 7	1657
		Shah Beg Khan is expected to reach the Karnatak (p. 152).
Ramzan 29 —Shawwal 29	July	Shah Beg finds that the Sultan's complaint was false (p. 154).
Rabi II, 6 —Jumadi I. 7	Jan.	1658
		Mir Jumla imprisoned by Aurangzeb at Daulatabad (p. 156).
Jumadi I. 8 —Jumadi II. 5	Feb.	Aurangzeb marches northwards (p. 156).
	1068-69	1658
		Aurangzeb, crowned emperor, sends Mustafa Khan and Saif Khan Bijapuri to supervise the administration of Gandikota (p. 157).
	1072-73	1662
		Qutb Shah appoints Neknam Khan Governor of the Karnatak (QSD 459, 569).

1	2	3
		Chapter 4 Sec. C
		<i>Bijapur Campaign</i>
Muharram 26	1067	July 1656 Aurangzeb asks Mir to win over Mulla Ahmad (p. 166).
		Nov. 4 Death of Md. Adil Shah. Ali Adil Shah II succeeds him (p. 164).
		Nov. 5 Mir sends to Aurangzeb copies of his letters to Mulla Ahmad (p. 166).
Safar 2		Nov. 10 Aurangzeb hears of Adil Shah's death (p. 164).
Safar 18		Nov. 26 Mir Jumla's befitting <i>peshkash</i> to Emperor who sanctions the invasion of Bijapur (p. 168).
Safar 23		Dec. 1 Mir Jumla leaves for the Deccan (p. 169).
Safar 23-29		Beg. Dec. Aurangzeb tries to win over Shivaji (p. 167).
Rabi I. 8-9		Mid.-Dec. Aurangzeb eager to meet Mir Jumla (p. 165).
On or after Rabi I. 16		Dec. 23 Aurangzeb seeks to win over Bijapuris (p. 167).
		End of Dec. Bijapuris (p. 167).
Rabi II, 2		Jan. 8 Aurangzeb reminds generals to hurry up (p. 169).
		Jan. 18 Astrologers fix Aurangzeb's march against Bijapur (p. 171).
12		Jan. 18 Mir Jumla arrives at Aurangabad and proceeds with Aurangzeb against Bijapur (p. 171).

1	2	3
Jum. I. 15	Feb. 19	Most auxiliaries not expected to reach Aurangzeb (p. 170).
Jum. I. 24	Feb. 28	Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla reach Andur (p. 172).
Jum. II. 23	Mar. 29	Md. Murad scales the walls of tower of Bidar (p. 172).
Rajab 23	April 27	Mir Jumla leaves Bidar (p. 172) and comes on to Kalyani with Aurangzeb (p. 172).
Rajab 29	May 3	Mir Jumla carries the trenches to the edge of the ditch. (p. 172).
Shaban 8	May 12	Three-fourth of ditch is filled up (p. 172).
Shaban 19	May 23	Aurangzeb attacks the Bijapuris (p. 173).
Shaban 24	May 28	Aurangzeb sends his eldest son with Mir Jumla and others against the Bijapuris (p. 173).
Shawwal 20	July 22	Fall of Kalyani (p. 173).
Shawwal 29	July 31	Dilawwar Habshi <i>qiladar</i> hands over the keys (p. 173).
Zilkada 1	Aug. 1	Treaty (p. 176).
Zilkada 1	August	
—Zilhijja 1		

1	2	3
Chapter 4 : Sec. D		
		<i>Mir Jumla hurried from office.</i>
Zilhijja 7	1067	1657 Shahjahan falls ill and nominates Dara as his successor (p. 177).
Muh. 2	1068	Mir Jumla removed from Wizarat and ordered to return from Bijapur (p. 177).
Muh. 2		Aurangzeb sends Mir Jumla to Parenda (p. 177).
Muh. 6	Sept. 30	Aurangzeb leaves Kalyan for Bidar (p. 177).
10	Oct. 4	Mughal collectors attacked at Naldurg (p. 178).
	Oct. 8	—Aurangzeb's wife dies (p. 180).
C. Zilhijja 18	1067	Aurangzeb has no news from Delhi about a month (p. 179).
-Muh. 14	1068	Mir's letter to Qabil Kh.
Muharram 13		
(Text Ramzan wrong)		
Muharram 16	Oct. 14	Mir to Aurangzeb (<i>Adab</i> , 198b-199a).
Muharram 17	15	Aurangzeb's <i>Nishan-i-Khas</i> to Mir (p. 179).
Muharram 12-17	10-15	Mir Jumla asked to dispose of Parenda : Mir to Qabil Khan.
Muharram 18	16	Mir Jumla to Aurangzeb; to Qabil Kh. (<i>Adab</i> , 199a-b).

Muharrām 19	1068	Oct. 17	1657	Aurangzeb sends to Mir Jumla a <i>nishān</i> to <i>qiladar</i> of Parenda acc. to Mir's suggestions of Oct. 14 (p. 182).
night preceding Muharrām 20		night preceding Oct. 18		Aurangzeb gets news of his wife's death. (<i>Adab</i> , 190a, 198a).
Muharrām 20		Oct. 18		Aurangzeb gets Mir's letter of Oct. 14 and leaves Bidar as advised by the letter (p. 180).
Muharrām 21		Oct. 19		Aurangzeb presses Mir Jumla to expedite capture of Parenda (p. 180; <i>Adab</i> , 198).
				—Qabil Khan replies to Mir's letter of 15th recd. on 18th (<i>Adab</i> , 198a-b).
Muh. 3-Safar 3		Oct.		Aurangzeb gets a secret message from the Collector of Agra (p. 180).
Muh. 23		Oct. 21		Mir to Qabil Kh. Court Agent's letter of Oct. 5 reaches Aurangzeb. (<i>Adab</i> 200).
Muh. 24		Oct. 22		Aurangzeb learns of Dara's assumption of power (from Court Agent's letter of Muh. 12/Oct. 10) (p. 181; <i>Adab</i> , 200a-b).
Muh. 25		Oct. 23		Qabil Kh. replies to Mir. (<i>Adab</i> 201).
Muh. 28		Oct. 26		Mir requests Aurangzeb to send Md. Sultan to Parenda (letter received Oct. 29. Qabil Kh's reply). (<i>Adab</i> 201a-202b).

1	2	3
Safar 3	1068 end of Oct.	1657 Aurangzeb consults Mir re : action against Shivaji (p. 178).
Safar 7	Nov. 4	Aurangzeb sends Md. Sultan to Parenda. (<i>Adab.</i> 202b-203a).
8	5	Qabil Kh. informs Mir that Aurangzeb asked his son to follow his advice. (<i>Adab.</i> 203a-204a).
12	9	Mir Jumla admits his mistake (p. 183; <i>Adab.</i> 92b).
14	11	Ikhlas Khan, pro-Mughal Bijapuri Prime Minister, murdered (p. 185).
21	18	Mir Jumla asks Aurangzeb to come to punish the Bijapuris (p. 186).
29	26	Mir Jumla to go to Bir with Md. Sultan (p. 186).
C. Rabi I. 10	C. Dec. 6	Aurangzeb summons Md. Sultan to Parenda (p. 187).
16	12	Qabil Kh. reaches Bir from Aurangabad and hands over to Mir Jumla Aurangzeb's letter and <i>Khilat</i> ; (<i>Adab.</i> 168b).
Rabi I. 5	early Dec.	Dara sends letters of recall to Mir Jumla and other generals in the Deccan (p. 187).
23	19	Imperial <i>farman</i> received by Aurangzeb (p. 187).
Rabi I. 25	Dec. 22	Mir Jumla got it from Aurangzeb (p. 188).
Rabi II. 1	c. Dec. 27	Aurangzeb asks Mir Jumla to leave Bir (p. 188).

3

2

1

Rabi II. 6	1068	c. Jan. 1	1658	Mir Jumla arrives at Aurangabad but is arrested by Aurangzeb (p. 188).
Ramzan 7		May 29		Md. Amin Khan arrives (p. 192).
Safar 13		end of Oct.		Mir Jumla appointed governor of Burhanpur (Khandesh) as <i>mansabdar</i> of 6,000 in place of Wazir Khan (p. 192).

Chapter 4 : Sec. E.

				<i>Mir Jumla's relations with Europeans (c. 1656-58).</i>
	Aug.		1656	The English seize Mir Jumla's Red Sea junk (p. 197)
	Dec. 18			Siege of Madras by Mir Jumla's forces under Lingum Nayak (p. 198).
	Sept. to April		1657	Second siege of Madras by Tupakki Krishnappa Nayak and Bala Rau (p. 199).
	April 19 April		1658	Siege raised (p. 199). Agreement (p. 200).

1	2	3
Chapter 5.		
<i>War of Succession Sec. A Battle of Khajwa.</i>		
Muharram 12	1059	
Rabi I. 14	end of Sept.	1658 Aurangzeb returns from the Punjab to fight Shuja (p. 202).
Rabi II. 4	end of Nov.	Aurangzeb sends Md. Sultan to Allahabad to bar Shuja's path (p. 202).
Rabi II. 14	Dec. 21	Aurangzeb starts (p. 202).
Rabi II. 17	Dec. 30	Shuja reaches Khajwa (p. 202).
Rabi II. 18	Jan. 2	1659 Aurangzeb joins the Prince and the imperial army at Kora-Gautampur (p. 202).
Rabi II. 19	Jan. 3	Mir Jumla arrives at Kora from Khandesh.
Rabi II. 20	Jan. 4 (night)	—Aurangzeb arranges battle order (p. 203).
	Jan. 5	Jaswant Singh treacherously attack Aurangzeb's camp (p. 203).
		Battle of Khajwa (p. 204).
		Chapter 5 : Sec. B.
		<i>The War in Bilhar.</i>
Rabi II. 26	Jan. 11	Aurangzeb rewards Mir Jumla and elevates him to rank of 7,000 (p. 207).

I	2	3
Rabi II. 27	1069	Jan. 12 1659 Mir Jumla accompanies Emperor on return march from Khajwa to the Ganges (p. 207). —Shujaite commander of Allahabad surrenders it (p. 208). —Shuja reaches Bahadurpur (p. 208). Emperor departs for the capital, deputing Mir Jumla to pursuit of Shuja and conquest of Bihar and Bengal (p. 207).
Rabi II. 29	Jan. 14	After Jan. 14 Mir Jumla proceeds to reinforce Md. Sultan and advises the latter to proceed by war of Chunar (p. 208).
Jumadi I. 27	Feb. 10	Shuja withdrew from Bahadurpur to Patna but halts at Jafar Khan's Garden (p. 209).
Jumadi II. 1	Feb. 14	Shuja leaves Patna.
Jumadi II. 6	Feb. 19	Shuja at Monghyr (till March 6) (p. 209).
9	Feb. 22	Imperialists reach Patna (p. 209).
16	early March	Mir Jumla appoints Daud Khan, Governor of Bihar. (p. 210). Prince finds roads to Monghyr blocked (p. 210).
21	March 6	Shuja flees from Monghyr (p. 210).
24	• March 9	Mir Jumla occupies Monghyr (p. 210).

1	2	3
Jumadi II. 25 to Rajab 8	1069	Shuja halts at Ra ngamati (p. 210).
Jumadi II 27-29	Mar 10-24	Battle of Deorai (p. 213).
C. Rajab 13	March 12-14	Shuja evacuates Ranganmati and hurries to Rajmahal (p. 213).
Rajab 14	C. Mar. 27	Mir Jumla makes a detour and passess along Suri (p. 212).
Rajab 17	Mar. 28	Rajputs desert Mir Jumla (pp. 212-3)
" 21	End. of March	Shuja leaves Rajmahal, crosses the Ganges at Dogachi and reaches Firozpur (p. 214).
" 30	April 4	Mir Jumla enters Rajmahal (p. 214).
	April 13	
		Chapter 5. Sec. C
		<i>War on the Ganges</i>
Sha 'ban 1	April 14	Mir Jumla proceeds to Dogachi. (p. 220).
Sha 'ban 2	April 15	Fidai Khan charges the imperialists (p. 221).
Sha 'ban 19	May 2	Mir Jumla's boat raid miscarries (p. 222).
" 20	May 3	Mir Jumla's signal failure (p. 223).

1	2	3
Ramzan 1	May 13	Daud starts from Patna (p. 239).
C. Ramzan 23	C. June 4	Daud reaches Qazi-Keria.
Ramzan 27	June 8 (night)	Prince Md. Sultan joins Shuja (p. 225).
Ramzan 28	June 9	Mir Jumla rides to Dogachi.
Ramzan 29	June 10	Mir Jumla returns to Suti.
		—Rashid Khan meets Daud.
	Early July	Dutch Director promises to help Mir Jumla (p. 225).
Zilhijja 9	Aug. 18	Shuja arrives at Pataura (p. 234),
Zilhijja 13	Aug. 22	Shuja suddenly invades and recovers Rajmahal (p. 234).
Zilhijja 23	C. Sept.	Shuja recalls Fiday Khan (p. 240).
—Muharram 23, 1070		
	Early Sept.	Mir Jumla's men occupy Midnapur (p. 235).
Rabi I. 26	Early Dec.	Daud starts from Qazi-Keria (p. 241).
Rabi II. 1	Dec. 6	Battle near Belghata & Giria (p. 236).
Rabi II. 10	Dec. 15	Shujaites swoop down on Ekkataz Khan (p. 236).
Rabi II. 21	Dec. 26 (night)	Shuja about to cross the Ganges when he learns that Daud, having forced a passage across the Kosi, is rapidly converging on Tanda.
		—Shuja leaves Nashipur, crosses Bhagirathi and advances towards Suti (p. 238).

Jumadi I. 14	1070	Jan. 17	1660	Mir Jumla crosses the second stream to Samdah (p. 250),
Jumadi I. 28		Jan. 31 night		(headquarters till 29 February) (p. 251).
Jumadi I. 29		Feb. 1		Mir Jumla sends Farhad Khan to cross the river (p. 252).
Jumadi I. 29 —Jumadi II. 1		Feb. 1-3		Mir Jumla crosses the third branch of the Ganges (p. 252).
Jumadi II. 1		Feb. 3		5000 imperialists cross the Mahananda (pp. 252-3).
Jumadi II. 3		Feb. 5		Shujaits evacuate their trenches (p. 253).
Jumadi II. 5		Feb. 7		Dilir and Daud come near the deserted entrenchments (p. 253).
Jumadi II. 6		Feb. 8		Mir Jumla crosses the Mahananda (p. 253).
Jumadi II. 10		Feb. 12		Prince Md. Sultan returns to imperial camp at Dogachi (p. 255).
Jumadi II. 25		Feb. 27		Mir Jumla returns to Samdah to welcome the Prince (p. 255).
Jumadi II. 27		Feb. 29		Dilir Khan routs a Shujaite contingent (p. 256).
				Mir Jumla sends the Prince to the Emperor (p. 256).
				—Mir Jumla leaves Samdah (p. 257).

1	2	3
Jumadi II. 28	1070	Mar. 1
Beg. of Rajab		Mar. 3
Rajab 4		Mar. 6
Sha'ban 4		April 5
Sha'ban 5		April 6
Sha'ban 6		April 7
Sha'ban 8		April 9
Sha'ban 18		April 19
Sha'ban 19		April 20
Sha'ban 20		April 21
Ramzan 6		May 6
9		May 9
	1660	
		Mar. 1
		Mar. 3
		Mar. 6
		April 5
		April 6
		April 7
		April 9
		April 19
		April 20
		April 21
		May 6
		May 9

Mir Jumla crosses the Mahananda (p. 257).
 Mir Jumla proceeds to Malda.
 Mir Jumla crosses to Mahmudabad (p. 257).
 Mir Jumla fords below Baglaghat (p. 257).
 Shuja retires from Chauki-Mirdadpur to Tanda at dawn and leaves for Dacca in afternoon (p. 258).
 Mir Jumla arrives at Tanda and restores order (12 days) (p. 259).
 Surrender of some Shujaite officers (p. 259).
 Mir Jumla leaves for Tartipur (p. 259).
 Mir Jumla comes to Hijrapur on way to Dacca (p. 259).
 —Empegor gets Mir Jumla's letter and rewards him.
 Mir Jumla hastens towards Dacca. (p. 259).
 Shuja departs from Dacca (p. 259).
 Mir Jumla reaches outskirts of Dacca (p. 260).

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3

*Mir Jumla's Relations with the Emperors.***Chapter 5. Sec F (C. 1658-60)****Chapter 6. Sub Section 4 (1660-63).**

April	1658	Agreement.
Sept. 13		Comittee of New General Stock disclaim responsibility for seizure of Mir Jumla's junk (p. 263).
Nov. 27		Surat authorities demand the price of junk from Winter (p. 263).
Feb. 21	1659	Second Interview of Chamberlain of Patna with Mir Jumla (p. 264).
End of May, early June		Halstead meets Mir Jumla (p. 265).
June 3		Halstead and Ken interview Mir Jumla (p. 265).
Oct. 12		Madras factors ordered by Surat to compensate Mir Jumla for losses (p. 266).
Dec. 1		and to restore the junk (p. 266).
		Trevisa leaves Hughli to see Mir Jumla (p. 267).
	C. 1660	Mir Jumla offers to supply saltpetre to the English.
Feb. 9 (O.S.)	1660	Mir Jumla grants <i>dustuck</i> or <i>parwana</i> confirming privileges granted by Shahjahan and Shah Shuja (p. 267).
Jumadi II 7	1070	

1	2	3
	Middle of	1660
	Aug.	Mir stops English trade at Kasimbazar and in the Bay (p. 279).
	Oct. 27	Mir Jumla engages English sailors (p. 279).
	end of May	Mir requests Dutch Director to deliver Shuja (in Arrakan) —utilises the services of Dutch and English in building warships (p. 280).
		1661
		English promise to restore the junk to Mir Jumla's agent at Masulipatam (p. 280).
		1662
		It was laid up at Mallaca (p. 280).
		Chapter 6 :
		<i>Mir Jumla as Governor of Bengal.</i>
Muh-Safar	1070	autumn
		1659
		Mir Jumla establishes authority in West Bengal and deposes Ihtisham Kh. to Orissa (p. 274).
		Governor of Bengal (p. 271).
		1660
	May 9,	Aurangzeb receives news of Shuja's flight to Arrakan (p. 269).
	-March 31	
	May 24	
		1660
	c. June	<i>Farman</i> of appointment of Mir Jumla as Governor of Bengal (p. 285).
c. Shaban 2		
Zilkada 2		

Zilkada 17	1070	July 15	1660	Fresh honours on Mir Jumla now commander of 7,000 with titles of <i>Khan i Khaman</i> & <i>Sipah Salar</i> (p. 271).
			1660-61	Mirza Lutfullah Beg, Diwan of Patna, seeks to monopolise the sale of saltpetre (p. 274).
Ramzan 17	1071	May 6	1661	Bahadur Khan, rebel Zamindar of Hijili, was taken to Decca as prisoner (p. 275).
Rabi I. 18 —Rabi II. 17	1072	Nov.		Mir Jumla demands Rs. 50,000 from the grain merchants of Dacca (p. 277).

Chapter 7 :

Invasion of Kuch Bihar & Assam.

	1657		Shahjahan's illness (p. 286).
Jumadi II. 6 —Sha'ban 7	1068	Mar-April	Mughal Kamrup, attacked from the West by Koches and from the east by Ahoms (p. 286).
	1661		Mir Jumla deposes Rashid Khan to occupy Kamrup from the Ahoms and Raja Sujan Singh from the disloyal Koch King (p. 287).
			—The Ahoms retreat beyond the Mbnas (p. 293).
Ramzan 12 —Zilkada 13	1071	May-June	Rashid halts at Rangamati, Raja Sujan Singh at Ekduar (p. 287).

1	2	3
Rabi I. 18	1072	Nov. 1
Rabi II. 29		1661
Jumadi I. 1	Dec. 12	Mir Jumla and Dilir Khan start from Khizrpur (p. 287).
2	Dec. 13	Raja Sujan Singh joins Mir Jumla (p. 288).
6	Dec. 14	Koch sentinels of Kuch Bihar flee away (p. 288).
"	Dec. 18	Mir Jumla reaches the foot of the <i>al</i> (p. 288).
7	Dec. 19	Mir Jumla encamps on the environs of the capital (p. 288).
23	Jan. 4	Mir Jumla enters the Koch capital (p. 288).
"		Mir Jumla proceeds to Assam via Khuntaghat (pp. 290, 294).
Jumadi II. 6	Jan. 17	Mir Jumla halts 5 m. west of Jogiguppa (p. 295), and occupies it, when it was evacuated (p. 296).
9	Jan. 20	—encamps at environs of Gauhati (p. 296).
24	Feb. 4	Mir Jumla demolishes the palisades of Srighat (p. 296).
25	Feb. 5	Mir Jumla invades Assam (p. 298).
27	Feb. 7	Mir Jumla crosses the Brahmaputra and moves towards Simlagarh fort (p. 298).
Rajab 6-7	Feb. 15-16	Siege of Simlagarh begins (p. 299).
11	Feb. 20	Final assault on it (p. 299).
10	Feb. 25	Mir Jumla enters it
17	Feb. 26	

1	2	3
Rajab 17	1072	—Ahoms evacuate Samdhara (p. 300).
21	Mar. 2	Mir Jumla leaves Kaliabar (p. 300).
22	Mar. 3	Ahom armada surprises the imperial <i>nawwara</i> near Kukurakata (p. 300).
27	Mar. 8	Mir Jumla enters Lakhau (p. 304).
Sha'ban 1	Mar. 12	Mir Jumla leaves Lakhau and proceeds towards Garhgaon (p. 304).
2-3	Mar. 13-14	Dewalgaon (p. 304).
4	Mar. 15	Gajpur (p. 304).
5	Mar. 16	Trimohani (p. 304).
6	Mar. 17	Mir Jumla crosses the Dikhau <i>nala</i> and enters Garhgaon (p. 304).
20	Mar. 31	Mir Jumla encamps at Mathurapur (p. 309).
Ramzan 22,	1072	Mughal army virtually besieged by rains (p. 316).
—Rabi I. 28	1073	
Shawwal 1	1072	Ahoms kill the thanadar of Gajpur (p. 315).
14	May 10	Md. Murad flees on land toward Trimohani (p. 317).
18	May 23	Farhad leaves Garhgaon to bring provisions and was held up at Tiok by floods (p. 317).
28	May 27	He reaches Trimohani (p. 318).
	June 6	

1	2	3
Zilkada 7	1072	June 14
30		1662
Zilhijja 1		July 7
5		July 8
8, 10, 11		July 12
16	1072	July 15, 17, 18
Zilhijja		July 23
Shawwal 23	1072	June-July
—Zilhijja 24,		
Zilhijja 25	1073	Aug.
—Muh. 26		
Zilhijja 24	1072	Aug. 5
Muh. 7	1073	Aug. 12
12		Aug. 17
13		Aug. 18
Safar 1		Sept. 5
11		Sept. 15
Mir Jumla sends Farhad to reinforce Mir Murtaza at Garhgaon (p. 319). Mughal admiral Ibn Husain at Lakhau (p. 324). Ahoms launch night assault on Garhgaon (p. 320). Grand assault on it from four sides (p. 320). Three more assaults (p. 321). Rashid Kh. destroys the Ahom trenches on the Kakujan (p. 321). Ahom overtures of peace (p. 321). Pestilence at Mathurapur (p. 321). Peasants of Assam (Solagarh) were overawed to submission (p. 324). Sayyid Husain becomes <i>thanadar</i> of Kaliabar and Kishan Singh of Kaliabar (p. 324). Mir Jumla leaves Mathurapur for Garhgaon (p. 321). Artillery carts arrive (p. 322). Ibn Hussain informs Mir Jumla of re-establishment of thana of Dewalgaon (p. 325). Night attack of Ahoms (p. 322).		

1.		2		3	
Safar (middle)	1073	Sept. 19-20	1662	End of crisis in sight (p. 327).	
Safar	21	Sept. 25		Abul Hasan proceeds to Saring and Dewalgaon (p. 327).	
Rabi I.	21	Oct. 24		Provisions reach Garhgaon on land (p. 328).	
	28	Oct. 31		and by river (p. 328).	
Rabi II	8	Nov. 10		Abul Hasan sails up the Dilli (p. 328).	
	14	Nov. 16		Mir Jumla leaves Garhgaon and fords the Dandga Dilli (p. 328).	
	18	Nov. 20		Mir Jumla reaches the Dihing and falls ill afterwards (p. 328).	
	28	Nov. 30		Baduli Pukan joins Mir Jumla (p. 329).	
Jumadi I.	1	Dec. 2		—Mir Jumla rejects peace offers of Raja (p. 330).	
				Mir Jumla deposes Darwesh Beg against the Ahoms (p. 329).	
	5	Dec. 6		Mir Jumla himself starts for Namrup (p. 329).	
	6	Dec. 7		Mir Jumla reaches Solaguri (p. 329).	
	7	Dec. 8		Mir Jumla crosses Solaguri R (p. 329).	
	9	Dec. 10		Mir Jumla took his meal but falls ill of pleurisy (p. 329).	
	14	Dec. 15		Mir Jumla sets out on a palanquin (p. 330).	

1	2	3
Jumadi I. 14	1073	Dec. 15
17		Dec. 18
C. Jumadi II.		Jan. 23
5	(Magh 9, 1584 Saka)	Jan. 5
Jumadi II. 10	1073	Jan. 10
22		Jan. 22
28		Jan. 28
Rajab 1		Jan. 30
1		Jan. 30
4		Feb. 2
11		Feb. 9

— Ahoms induce Dilir Khan to persuade *Mir Jumla* to accept peace p. 330).

Mir Jumla pitches his tents at Tipam (p. 330).
(Treaty of Ghilajari Ghat (p. 331).

Raja sends princess, hostages, etc. (p. 332).
Order of retreat : *Mir Jumla* leaves Tipam, follows the

bank of the *Dihing* and crosses the river at Trimohani. (p. 335);

Mir Jumla embarks on a boat at Dewalgaon and reaches Lakhau.

Mir Jumla leaves Lakhau on boat, the army proceeding on land.

Mir Jumla reaches Kaliabar.

Mir Jumla starts from Kaliabar in a palanquin, inspects Dimarua, crosses the wilderness of Kajli (34 kos in 4 days).

Mir Jumla crosses the Kallang by boat and halts at the foot of Kajli fort.

Interviews the mother of Raja of Darrang and the mother of the Raja Dimarua.

1	2	3
Rajab 13	1073 Feb. 11	1663 Mir Jumla leaves Kajli and halts at Pandu, opposite Gauhati, on account of serious illness.
14	Feb. 12	Mir Jumla provides for administration of Kamrup. Dilir arrives at Pandu.
26	Feb. 24	Mir Jumla leaves Pandu in boat.
30	Feb. 28	Mir Jumla halts at Baritala (p. 336).
Sha'ban 27	Mar. 27	Mir Jumla leaves Baritala on boat.
Ramzan 2	Mar. 31	Mir Jumla dies (p. 336).
	April 23	The news reaches Aurangzeb at Lahore (p. 281).

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